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I. CREATIVE EVOLUTION.¹

R. C. SCHIEDT.

Evolution, the modern theory which attempts to explain the origin and structure of the universe, still occupies the foreground of all intellectual interests. The discussions are indeed no longer so personal and acrimonious as they were fifty years ago, there is even an almost universal agreement that the fundamental principles of Newton, Kant, Lamarck, Lyell and Darwin are correct, that the theories which trace the beginning of the material universe back to a spiral nebula and the start of life to a bit of protoplasm whence all living beings descended are incontrovertible. But there is an ever growing difference of opinion regarding the methods of the descent from such beginnings. As a result a number of schools have arisen who draw their disciples from all departments of knowledge and from every sphere of life, because evolutionary thinking has influenced all forms of thought. These schools may be classified into two groups, the vitalistic and the mechanistic group. The former may again be divided into the old and the new

¹ *Creative Evolution* by Henri Bergson. Authorized translation by Arthur Mitchell, Ph.D. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1911. The language of the book is maintained throughout this article.

vitalistic and the latter into the Lamarekian and the Darwinian schools. The representatives of the Vitalistic school hold that any phenomenon which cannot be explained by the laws of chemistry and physics is due to the influence of a mysterious immaterial agency which endowed with reasoning and designing powers guides and watches the development and functional activity of each individual being, the representatives of the mechanistic school maintain that all phenomena whether animate or inanimate are alike the results of physical and chemical agencies and changes. Both schools are represented by many earnest and honest thinkers.

The Mechanistic school was at first in the ascendancy. It centered in matter as the object of its investigation and matter threatened to devour all values including the soul, life, all spiritual development in history, as well as all spiritual values in the moral realm and in the sphere of art. We had for a time, and to a degree still have, well established schools in history, art and literature solely based on naturalistic standards. In metaphysics the doctrines of Positivism prevailed demanding that the mature mind occupy itself only with quantitative values, with phenomena which coexist and develop in space and time, which enable men to determine future phenomena on the basis of laws derived from such observed phenomena. The transcendental was a realm closed to such observation and the truly modest seeker could only be an agnostic. Positivism and agnosticism became the watchwords of the day. But in the course of time a reaction set in, a hunger made itself felt for a new form of metaphysics leading the minds out of the mechanistic and materialistic tendencies. Edward v. Hartmann demanded that speculation be also subjected to the laws of the inductive method and the cry "back to Kant" became the fashion of the day. In the realm of the plastic art naturalism and verism were displaced by the symbolisms of Bourne Jones and Ludwig von Hofmann and the analytical novel of the Zola type was followed by the psychological novel of Gabriele d'Annunzio and the romanticism of Maeterlinck and Hauptmann.

In the sphere of pure Science purely mechanistic studies of physics and chemistry were supplemented by the investigations of the new biology, in which the new vitalism of Driesch, Reinke, Wiegand and others and the reintroduction of teleology prevailed over against the extreme mechanistic views of such Darwinists as Roux, Loeb and Whitman. The problems of life became the burning question. Within the sphere of the Social sciences there developed the theory that the growth of purely cultural institutions with its spiritual values could not be interpreted according to the mechanistic scheme and over against the problem of nature and natural law we get the problem of personality and of cultural values.

These changes again directed the attention of thinkers to the problem which in the inquiry of mind as over against matter is of such tremendous importance, viz., the problem of freedom. This was particularly the case in French philosophy. The Kantians, Renouvier and Lachelier, emphasized Kant's idea of freedom as over against the law of cause and effect as of central importance. They went, however, beyond Kant by transferring this freedom to the unknowable world of transcendentalism into the world of experience. Their chief follower in the United States is William James, in Germany Rudolf Eucken, in France Henri Bergson. They do not aim at merely disposing of naturalism nor do they despise the fundamental principles of modern evolution. They fight energetically against the humiliation of philosophy as a mere servant of specialism, they make bold to philosophize on the facts themselves, to look at these facts with different eyes from the representatives of the exact sciences. They openly cultivate metaphysics, but a metaphysics quite different from the old scholastic type, it is distinctively evolutionary. We shall confine ourselves especially to Bergson and his *Creative Evolution*.

Bergson is both scientist and philosopher. His life is at every turn the scintillating effulgence of a brilliant mind. He was born in Paris on October 18, 1859 and educated at the College Fontane, now Condorcet, one of the largest and best

collegiate institutions in France. He excelled in all studies linguistic, philosophical and scientific and received many prizes among them the great prize for mathematics. Being for sometime uncertain whether to devote himself to letters or to the exact sciences he studied both with equal zeal, but finally decided to enter the literary department of the "Ecole Normale supérieur" which was then the real training school for future university professors. After three years of most distinguished devotion to philosophical studies he passed the difficult competitive examination of the *Agrégation* in 1883 and was immediately appointed a college professor serving at first as professor of philosophy at Clermont-Ferrand in the Auvergne and later at the Collège Rollin and then at the Lycée Henri IV in Paris. In the meantime he had published and publicly defended his doctor dissertation on an "Eassai sur les données immédiates de la conscience" and after a most brilliant disputation had been made a "docteur és-lettres avec mention philosophie." In 1878 he became "maitre de conférences" at the Ecole Normale Supérieure where for two years he exercised a most wholesome influence on the future university professors. In 1900 he became full professor at the Collège de France, the foremost university of France, and in 1901 a permanent member of the "Institute de France."

Bergson is reputed to be above all a born educator, his fascinating personality and brilliant lectures, new in content, positive in character and painstaking in thoroughness, are attracting an enthusiastic throng of the best young minds of France, who crowd his lecture halls. But his influence reaches far beyond his home land. The Columbia University Press has just published a contribution to a bibliography of the French philosopher. It includes 90 books and articles by himself and 417 books and articles written about him. These 417 items represent 11 different languages divided as follows: French 170; English 159; German 40; Italian 19; Polish 5; Dutch 3; Spanish 3; Roumanian 2; Swedish 2; Russian 2;

Hungarian 1. This bibliography is a part of the intellectual and personal welcome which Columbia University extended to Henri Bergson in 1912, when he was appointed exchange professor to that university by the French government. "The liberal Protestants in France gladly accept Bergson's ideas, the Catholics read and study his writings, the Pragmatists find new arguments in them, the Socialists would like to claim him as their own, the scholars rejoice in the new material for study he constantly presents and the mystics see in his books new proofs for the supernatural." William James says, "Open Bergson's books and new horizons will open up before your eyes on every page." Some of his enthusiastic French admirers claim that this philosophy is of as much importance in the history of European Metaphysics as Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, nay that he is "le seul philosophe de premier ordre qu'aient en la France depuis Descartes et l'Europe depuis Kant." While we cannot endorse this exorbitant praise we must acknowledge that for the last sixty years not a single philosopher has exerted so great an influence in France as Henri Bergson and we may add that no philosopher of modern times has entered upon the discussion of the evolutionary problem with so much sympathy and yet so much original grasp as to make it fundamentally different from both the prevailing materialistic and positivistic conception, and from teleological interpretations.

Bergson is preëminently a biological philosopher. For this reason his chief work on *Creative Evolution*, which appeared in 1907 and has since gone through six editions, embraces the whole universe in its discussion, for the will to live, the vital impetus, plays the chief rôle in the universe. The basic principles of this work are contained partly in his doctor's thesis, in which he deals with the immediate facts of consciousness, and partly in a later essay on *Matter and Memory*. In the former he attacks the claims of the prevailing mechanistic methods by a keen analysis of the values of numbers, of time and space, which culminates in the statement, that the world

the mathematician deals with is a world that dies and is reborn every instant—the world which Descartes was thinking of when he spoke of continued creation. But, in time thus conceived, how could evolution, which is the very essence of life, ever take place? Evolution implies a real persistence of the past in the present, a duration which is, as it were, a hyphen, a connecting link. Therefore a mathematico-mechanistic science cannot interpret the true nature of things spiritual or psychic. In the essay on *Matter and Memory* he tries to refute the theories of the school of psycho-physical parallelism both from the standpoint of the theory of knowledge and from that of psychology, especially pathological psychology. According to Bergson consciousness does not need the brain for the formation of images, but only as a tool for action in the material world. The brain is therefore ultimately an apparatus of motility. In order to act upon matter it must be analyzed and this function is performed by intelligence. For this purpose intelligence subjects nature to the idea of space, which is indefinitely divisible and shows an unlimited number of successive but separate elements. Such thinking is geometric thinking, which never leads into the inner essence of reality, neither in material nature nor in the world of speculation. The truly real endurance (*durée*) which includes everything in mutual interpenetration can only be comprehended by intelligence in time-concepts which after the manner of space are disconnected. Consequently intelligence is not only capable of comprehending the inner essence of the external world but it also transforms the innate tendencies of self consciousness into mere aids for practical action never for metaphysical interpretation. The intellect only furnishes symbols which are a sufficient basis for all practical conduct. Exact science is a work of pure intellect and the intellect is at home in the presence of unorganized matter. This matter it makes use of more and more by mechanical inventions and mechanical inventions become the easier to it the more it thinks matter as mechanism. Now when the intellect undertakes the study of life it necessarily

treats the living like the inert, applying the same forms to this new object, carrying over into this new field the same habits that have succeeded so well in the old; and it is right to do so for only on such terms does the living offer to our action the same hold as inert matter. But the truth we thus arrive at is only a symbolic verity, for it is only dealing with the living object in the external aspect. The duty of philosophy should be to intervene here actively, to examine the living without any reservation as to practical utility, but freeing itself from forms and habits that are strictly intellectual. Its own special object is to speculate, that is to see. Intuition is the only organ that penetrates to the absolute reality of things.

From this point of view Bergson submits the various present forms of evolution to a common test and shows the unsurmountable difficulties against which they strike, without, however, rejecting them altogether. He admits that they are supported by a considerable number of facts and that each of them must correspond to a certain aspect of the process of evolution. But he claims that it is the business of philosophy, which does not contemplate any practical application and is not constrained by scientific precision, to present the reality of which these theories present only a partial view in its transcending totality. When Darwin and his school claim that the species of plants and animals have arisen by slow variation due to accidental chemico-physical differences inherent in the germ and not to the experiences or behavior of the adult individual Bergson protests that these differences are not purely accidental but due to an impulsion which passes from germ to germ across the individuals, possibly appearing at the same time in all or at least in a certain number of the representatives of the same species. This impulsion he calls the *élan vitale* or life impetus. This stamps him at once as a vitalist but not a vitalist in the sense of the old teleology of the type of Agassiz, which is often called finalism. He condemns finalism as much as the mechanistic theory. According to him life is not bound by any prearranged plan, but is free at all times to modify its course

and change its direction. Life according to this view is like a rocket bursting as it flies, each fragment again bursting and so on. The life impetus is thus continually dividing. Just as the bursting of the rocket depends upon the explosive force of the powder and the resistance of the surrounding mantle so the direction of life depends upon the unstable balance of tendencies which it bears within itself and the resistance it meets with from inert matter. "It is as if the vital impetus were trying to graft on the invariableness of matter the largest possible amount of instability." Already, in fact, the latest theory of evolution, Mendelism or the theory of sudden variations called mutations, expounded by De Vries and his school, is modifying Darwinism profoundly on this point. For, it asserts that at a given moment, after a long period the entire species is beset with a tendency to change. The tendency to change is therefore not accidental. The change itself, indeed, would be accidental, at least so far as the limited experiments on the Evening Primrose by De Vries have shown, but these Neo-Darwinians are clearly inclined to admit that the periods of mutation are determinate, and so may also be the direction of the mutation. This admission brings us to Eimer's hypothesis, expounded in his *Organic Evolution*, according to which the variations of different characters continue from generation to generation in definite directions. But while Eimer holds that such variations are solely due to combinations of physical and chemical causes Bergson interjects a psychological cause, the spontaneity of life which is partly determinate and partly indeterminate, otherwise, he claims, the likeness of the structure of the eye in species which have not the same history as that of the common Pecten and of man cannot be explained. Indeed, the oldest school of Evolutionists, the followers of Lamarck, resort to a cause of a psychological nature. Lamarck taught that new species arise partly through use and disuse of its organs under the influence of environment and his disciples insist more and more that characters acquired during the lifetime of an individual are transmitted to its offspring, a claim

which is utterly denied by the Darwinians. The variation that results in a new species is not, the Lamarckians say, merely an accidental variation inherent in the germ itself, nor is it governed by a determinism *sui generis* which develops definite characters in a definite direction, apart from every consideration of utility. It springs from the very effort of the living being to adapt itself to the circumstances of its existence. This effort may either be only mechanical or imply consciousness and will. Bergson, therefore, claims that Neo-Lamarckism is of all the later forms of evolutionism the only one capable of admitting an internal and psychological principle of development, although it is not bound to do so. But, he adds, if this cause is nothing but the conscious effort of the individual, it cannot operate in more than a restricted number of cases,—at most in the animal world and not at all in the vegetable kingdom. And even then it could only compass an increase of complexity if the acquired characters were regularly transmitted and accumulated which, however, is the exception rather than the rule. But such a complex hereditary change in a definite direction must require an effort inherent in the germs of most representatives of a species and assured of being passed on to their descendants, this effort is the Bergsonian original impetus of life passing from one generation of germs to the following generation of germs through the developed organisms which bridge the interval between the generations. According to this view of creative evolution neither the Darwinian factor of slow or rapid variation by natural selection nor the Lamarckian factor of environment are the causes of new species, they only explain "the sinuosities of the courses of evolution" but not the general direction and still less the causes of the movement itself. Nor does the doctrine of finality prove adequate, when it likens the labor of nature to that of a workman who assembles material and tools in order to carry out an idea or to imitate a model. "Life does not proceed," Bergson says, "by the association and addition of elements but by dissociation and division," as a mere glance at the develop-

ment of an embryo shows, proceeding from the homogeneous egg to the heterogeneous body. Moreover, a plan is given in advance. It is represented or at least representable before its realization. The complete execution may be put off to a distant future, or even indefinitely; but the idea is nevertheless formulable at the present time in terms actually given. If, on the contrary, evolution is a creation unceasingly renewed, it creates as it goes on, not only the forms of life, but the ideas that will enable the intellect to understand it, the terms which will serve to express it. That is to say that its future overflows its present and cannot be sketched out therein in an idea. Furthermore, if life realizes a plan, it ought to manifest a greater harmony the farther it advances, just as a house shows better and better the idea of the architect as stone is set upon stone. If, on the contrary, the unity of life is to be found solely in the impetus that pushes it along the road of time the harmony is not in front but behind, it is given at the start as an impulsion and not placed at the end as an attraction. In communicating itself the impetus splits up more and more. Life in proportion to its progress is scattered in manifestations complementary to each other in the beginning but none the less mutually incompatible and antagonistic. So the discord between species is ever increasing both progressively and retrogressively for the same causes that divide the evolution movement cause life to be diverted from itself, hypnotized by the form it has just brought forth.

Now the way life breaks into individuals and species after the fashion of the bursting rocket spoken of above depends on two series of causes: the resistance life meets from inert matter and the explosive force due to an unstable balance of tendencies—which life bears within itself. It is interesting to note in this connection that Bergson opens up an entirely new view on the relations of vegetable, animal and human life. He points out the error which ever since Aristotle has vitiated the general theory of evolution, viz., the theory that these three categories of life are three successive stages of a single process,

which developed from below upward, i. e., from unconscious life to instinct and from instinct to intelligence. This pernicious dogma, he says, has more or less influenced all philosophical systems. *"The cardinal error which from Aristotle onwards, has vitiated most of the philosophies of nature, is to see in vegetative, instinctive and rational life, three successive degrees of the development of one and the same tendency, whereas they are three divergent directions of an activity that has split up as it grew. The difference between them is not a difference of intensity, nor, more generally, of degree, but of kind."* This is the central and chief thought of the whole work on *"Creative Evolution."*

The first problem confronting this vital impetus as it enters matter is somewhere to gather energy with which to counteract the retarding force of matter. As a matter of fact, the principal source of energy usable on the surface of our planet is the sun. So the problem for life was this: to accumulate the sun's energy in suitable reservoir so that it could be drawn upon at the desired moment, at the desired spot, in the desired direction, i. e., for any need such as movement and reproduction. The substances forming the food of animal are just such substances. They are, in the form of starch fat and proteids, complex molecules holding a considerable amount of potential energy, resembling explosives which only need a spark to set free the energy within them. No doubt the first living beings had the power of taking from the inorganic environment simple compounds which by means of the sun's rays were decomposed and recombined again into complex molecules only to be utilized again by life; in other words the first organism manufactured the explosive and caused the explosion in order to utilize it. Such a being we still have in the *Euglena*, a chlorophyll-bearing Protozoan which in a rather crude way symbolizes this primordial tendency. This organism expends kinetic energy in motion like any animal but at the same time stores up potential energy by means of the sun's rays acting on its chlorophyll content after the fashion of plants. In the course

of time these two tendencies could not be kept united in the same living being as a single tendency and two divergent lines of development opened up, the one culminated in the vegetable life and the other in the animal life. But if nature had for its object from the first the explosion rather than the explosive, which was merely the means to an end, then the animal indicates the direction of life. The latter evolved toward a freer and freer expenditure of discontinuous energy, the former perfected rather its system of accumulation without moving. These two tendencies were opposed in certain points and complementary in others but preserved an appearance of kinship. Wherever there is division of labor there is also association and convergence of effort. But creative evolution is never achieved by association but by dissociation; it never tends toward convergence but toward divergence. The result of the two different methods of food getting was that the plant surrounded itself with a hard coat of cellulose, which is rather impenetrable to external stimuli and therefore prevents even a low degree of conscious response or consciousness, while the animal cell in its search for food cannot encase itself completely and therefore readily responds to external stimuli and thus develops an ever higher type of consciousness. Bergson claims an obvious relationship between mobility and consciousness, but at the same time cautions against radical distinctions between unconscious and conscious, as being two labels which can be mechanically fastened, the one on every vegetable cell, the other on all animals. While consciousness sleeps in the animal which has degenerated into a motionless parasite it probably awakens in the vegetable that has regained liberty of movement. Nevertheless consciousness and unconsciousness mark the directions in which the two kingdoms have developed, becoming most perfect in the highest animals while in the vegetable kingdom it is only found in the very lowest and simplest forms, such as the algæ, "The humblest organism is conscious in proportion to its power to move freely." But the two characteristic tendencies of the two kingdoms although divergent coexist even

now both in plant and in the animal. However active an animal species may be torpor and consciousness are always lying in wait for it. It keeps up the rôle only by effort, at the price of fatigue. The history of evolution shows many retrogressions, but the vital impulse has again and again aroused the animal to move forward, so especially during the middle palæozoic, when the molluscs had a shell more universally than those of to-day and the arthropods in general were provided with a carapace and the more ancient fish had a bony sheath of extreme hardness. But the impulse of life got the upper hand again in two directions, the fishes exchanged their ganoid breast plate for scales and the insects had appeared void of the breast plate of their ancestors, increasing thereby mobility and suppleness and also variety of movements. This again took place in divergent directions. In the arthropods motor activity is distributed amongst a varying number of specialized appendages. In the vertebrates it is concentrated in two pairs only, the functions of which are more or less independent of their form, becoming completely independent in man whose hand is capable of any kind of work. But behind these differences in form and motion two powers may be surmised, immanent in life and originally intermingled, which were bound to part company in course of growth. These two powers reach their culmination in the arthropods and vertebrates respectively. These two powers are instinct and intelligence, the one culminating in the hymenopterous insects and the other in man. Vegetative torpor, instinct and intelligence are the elements which resided in the vital impulsion common to plants and animals, and which in the course of a heterogeneous development have been dissociated by the very fact of their growth. Now just as plant life and animal life are at once mutually complementary and mutually antagonistic so are also intelligence and instinct opposite end complementary. "Instinct perfected is a faculty of using and even of constructing organized instruments; intelligence perfected is the faculty of making and using unorganized instruments." Man appeared first

on earth when the first weapons, the first tools were made. Now there are some acts performed by animals which we call intelligent, for example the fox's ability to recognize a trap, but it is after all only the beginning of intelligence in the form of inference; however, inference is the beginning of invention and invention becomes only complete when it is materialized in a manufactured instrument. That is the ideal of animal intelligence. On the other hand, if instinct consists in the natural ability to use an inborn mechanism where does the activity of instinct begin and where does that of a mere vital process end? We cannot tell. The labor of feeding, reproduction and preservation is the activity of nature while the division of the labor of feeding, reproduction and preservation as carried on among bees and ants is instinct. But originally both intelligence and instinct were contained in the same psychical activity, they had to separate in order to grow. Both developed into fundamentally different kinds of knowledge. When the horse fly lays its eggs on the legs or shoulders of the horse, it acts as if it knew that the larva has to develop in the horse's stomach and that the horse in licking itself will convey the larva into its digestive tract. The knowledge, if knowledge there be, is only implicit. It is reflected outwardly in exact movements instead of being reflected inwardly in consciousness, but it is nevertheless true that the behavior of the insect involves or rather evolves the idea of definite things existing or being produced in definite points of space and time which the insect knows without having learned them. So much for instinctive action. In contrast to this a new born babe with its innate intelligence, although it is a faculty of knowing, knows no object in particular nor a definite property of an object, but when a little later on, he will hear an epithet being applied to a substantive, he will immediately understand what it means. The relation of attribute to subject is therefore seized by him naturally and the same might be said of the general relation expressed by the verb. In short innate instinct refers to things or actions, innate intelligence to relations. "Intelligence is

the knowledge of form, instinct implies the knowledge of matter." Instinct is therefore limited, intelligence is unlimited and capable to go beyond itself. There are things for which intelligence would like to search but which it cannot find alone, instinct might find them but it will never seek them. The difficulty in finding a proper explanation for instinctive action comes from our habit of trying to express instinctive knowledge through the language of intelligence. It is absurd to imagine that an insect should have the same knowledge of its victim which it stings to death as a naturalist who observes both animals from without. But the difficulty disappears, according to Bergson, if one assumes a certain sympathy, in the etymological sense of the word, between the insect and its victim, which would teach the insect from within the vulnerability of its victim. This is a sort of divining sympathy more experienced than comprehended. If this sympathy would be capable of extending beyond its object and lead to a self-examination it would give us the key to the fundamental questions of life. For the one tendency is at home in the sphere of dead matter and the other in the realm of life. Intelligence will reveal to us in the course of time all the secrets of the physical phenomena, of life itself it can only give us a translation in terms of inertia. It goes all around life, taking form outside the greatest possible number of views of it, drawing it into itself instead of entering into it. But it is to the very inwardness of life that intuition leads us—by intuition, Bergson means instinct that has become disinterested, self-conscious, capable of reflecting upon its object and enlarging it indefinitely. That such a desire is not impossible is shown by the presence in man of an esthetic faculty along with normal perception. The artist by an effort of intuition breaks down the barrier that space puts between him and his model and placing himself within the object by a kind of sympathy he can reproduce the real character of his model through the lines on his canvas. Intuition thus may enable us to grasp what intelligence fails to give us. It may bring the intellect to recognize that neither

mechanical causality nor finality can give a sufficient interpretation of the vital process. Then by sympathetic communication which it establishes between us and the rest of the living, by the expansion of our consciousness which it brings about, it introduces us into life's domain which is reciprocal interpenetration, endlessly continued creation. But though it transcends intelligence it is from intelligence that has come the push that has made it rise to the point it has reached. Now, if consciousness has thus split up into intuition and intelligence, it is because of the need it had to apply itself to matter at the same time as it had to follow the stream of life. Any theory of knowledge, any normal philosophy must take account of these two faculties and give them the place which rightfully belongs to them. It is only by dwelling on this opposition of the two elements and on this identity of origin, that we shall bring out more clearly the meaning of evolution itself.

The preceding discussions throw a new light upon the highest and most important problem in metaphysics, viz., the origin and evolution of the universe. Bergson's idea of intuition permits us to go beyond the limits of exact science and to lift the veil which hides the riddle of the universe. Here too the "*élan vitale*," the vital impulse, plays the chief rôle. As Lotze before him so Bergson maintains that there is life also in material nature. Lotze, too, speaks of formative forces, of forces of innate unexpected efficiency, etc. Only with him this force is more of a reciprocal action and reaction. With Bergson it is the creative, interpenetrating force which lives in the universe and according to which the universe develops. What is its importance? It is not pure mechanism nor causality or mere blind force. But this innate impulse is in its course of unfolding impeded by the resistance of matter. It flows like a broad mighty river of life through the cosmos, it is a tendency to create life. This tendency includes an infinite number of possibilities. In its irresistible course it has given matter a definite form and brought it into organic existence. However in this very combat with matter its motion has become

slower and its course has divided into numberless branches. On the one hand consciousness has fallen asleep in the plant world, on the other hand infinite possibilities have been gloriously realized in the animal kingdom. Among the animals consciousness has become instinct; in man it has become intelligence. But both are parallel phenomena, reaching their culmination in the insects and in man respectively.

The primeval force which has been flowing through the world for hundreds of millions of years is nevertheless a limited force which ever tends to go beyond itself and yet ever remains inadequate to the work which it strives to produce. This important point is constantly overlooked by teleologists, which look upon the world as a harmonious whole in which discords only serve to bring out the fundamental harmony. But who has not actually experienced the disproportions between the original ideals and plans of any work and its actual results. There is a single gigantic effort to be observed in the whole organic world, an effort to soar on high, but must frequently the effort fails. Opposing forces either impede it or it stops in a crippled condition as though hypnotized. Even in the most perfect forms of animal life the "*élan vitale*" is exposed to the retarding influence of matter. Our own freedom is apt to stagnate in habits unless renewed by constantly new efforts. The living thought becomes a dead formula, the word kills the idea, the letter crushes the spirit. Whence this inevitable opposition? Only the origin of life, especially of human life, can explain it. When the river of life meets the counter-current of matter it is converted into a vortex. The "*élan vitale*" is impeded, stopped and for a shorter or longer time fixed. It must obey matter for a certain period of time and the pernicious power of mechanism becomes the ruling element but it never stops it altogether. For at a single stage of this life process the life impetus has succeeded in breaking through the mechanistic torpor, viz., at the stage of humanity. This link in the endless chain of life has wrenched itself loose from the fetters of a torpid determinism. Man is at the same time

both instinct and intelligence. Unfortunately the former has been pushed back by the greater power of the latter but it has not been annihilated. Intuition is perhaps given to all men to a very small degree but for the select few it becomes a light in their struggle on the strong dark road which leads to truth. Only intuition can enlighten our emotions when intelligence fails.

The "élan vitale" permeating the universe is consciousness. It contains as every consciousness an infinite number of efficacious interpenetrating forces which belong neither to the category of unity nor to that of plurality because these categories have been created for inert matter. Matter alone can divide this flood into separate branches or individualities. The stream of life therefore flows through all human generations and divides into individuals through the influence of matter. Thus souls are continually created which nevertheless in a certain sense preëxisted. They are nothing else than the little rills into which the great river of life divides itself, flowing through the body of humanity. The movement of the stream is distinct from the river bed although it must adopt its winding course. Consciousness is distinct from the organism it animates although it must undergo its vicissitudes. As the possible actions which a state of consciousness indicates are at every instant the motor indications of the state of consciousness but the interdependency of brain and consciousness is limited to this; the destiny of consciousness is not bound up on that account with the density of cerebral matter. Finally consciousness is essentially free; it is freedom itself; but it cannot pass through matter without settling on it, without adapting itself to it; this adaptability Bergson calls intellectuality. And the intellect forces the active, *i. e.*, free consciousness to adapt itself to the frame to which it is accustomed to see matter subjected. The intellect will therefore always see freedom in the form of necessity and overlook what is new and creative in a free act. The intellect has no appreciation for freedom, therefore the apparent success of determinism. However, the

metaphysician who desires to place intuition into its rightful place sees many difficulties vanish or become light. Such a philosophy not only facilitates speculation but is also of vast ethical significance. It gives us, says Bergson, more power to act and to live. For with it, we feel ourselves no longer isolated in humanity; humanity no longer seems isolated in the nature that it dominates. Just as the smallest grain of dust is dependent upon our entire solar system so all organized beings from the humblest to the highest manifest at all places and times but a single impulsion opposed to the movement of matter and in itself indivisible. To obey this impulse of creative, nay divine activity consciously but not slavishly should be the goal of every clear headed man.

Bergson would like to regenerate all practical life and endow it with a higher and nobler sense. Only he who lives in and by intuition is really free and truly creative. Therefore should we all strive to live in and through intuition and to contrôle and lay aside the material in us. Above all it is necessary that our will should be reborn. We must free ourselves from the blind necessity of our wants and from its slave the intellect by an act of our will. Bergson therefore places freedom of action above mere phenomena, above the intellect. This philosophy culminates in the imperative. But here the biologist is stronger in him than the metaphysician. To him the will is nothing more than a biological "a priori" and the intellect only a biological "a posteriori." If we want to return from the latter to the former we are forced to retrace our whole development. The highest aim would be to combine harmoniously the two different forms of intuition and of intellect at which Fichte already aimed in order to reach the most perfect stage in the development of humanity.

Bergson's views thus ultimately rest on a practical voluntaristic principle, the will to intuition, an intuition which, somewhat after Kant's intuitive intellect, is to behold the realm of freedom and the realm of necessity in harmonious communion. It resembles, according to Bergson, the artist's fancy and stamps

the organic life as the world life, the absolute. There is therefore not a single isolated being in the whole universe. All living beings are more or less related, all yield to one and the same tremendous push. "The animal takes its stand on the plant, man bestrides animality, and the whole of humanity in space and in time is one immense army galloping beside and before and behind each of us in an overwhelming charge able to beat down every resistance and clear the most formidable obstacles, perhaps even death."

In a second article we shall endeavor to subject Bergson's philosophy to a closer scrutiny and criticism and contrast it with modern biological thinking and the Christian faith.

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II.

WALTER SCOTT: POET.

W. U. HENSEL.

NOTE.—Editor Review. When I was a college student nearly fifty years ago the library resources of the institutions were very much more limited than they are now. Nevertheless, we read on an average two or three standard books every week. The Bible and Shakespeare were the familiar English classics; and I think Cooper, Hawthorne, Scott, Thackeray and Dickens were favorites in fiction; Scott, Byron, Keats and Shelley, of the English poets; Poe, Lowell, Bryant, Longfellow and Whittier, of the American; Addison and Carlyle, Emerson and Holmes, of the essayists and masters of prose style, were acquaintances of the average Sophomore. In a recent conversation with a fairly scholarly student of an upper class, I was startled to find that about one volume of polite literature per month was now considered a fair average accomplishment. He informed me that while he had read one or two of Sir Walter's novels, he had no idea that Scott was ranked as a poet. Hence I went back to some of my early literary associations to satisfy myself that I had not grievously erred and wasted my time reading and memorizing so much of his verse. Wherefore this contribution.

W. U. H.

There is a manifest tendency in certain quarters to depreciate, if not to deny, the claims of Walter Scott's admirers to his rank as a poet. Mine is not the purpose to undertake a critique of his works or an analysis of his genius. He occupies such a large space in the history of English literature, his creations are so manifold, his versatility so remarkable and his personality so picturesque, that the passing moment would not compass so vast a subject—or rather so many themes. It is doubtful if within the whole range, from Chaucer to Noyes, a more cheerful and robust figure, a more prolific and unflagging industry, a more wholesome and abiding influence have manifested themselves in the literature of our race and tongue.

He was not the founder of a school, nor the herald of a new

era in letters. The classic age had preceded him, when Addison and Swift, Goldsmith and Sterne gave elegance to the English essay; Richardson, Fielding and Smollet gave form and characteristics to the English novel; and Pope and Gray gave eloquence and rhetoric to English poetry.

A compatriot, preceding him, a ruddy Scotch peasant, with the soil of the furrow yet on his garments, when he dazzled the drawing rooms of Edinburgh, had already wrought a revolution in letters as surely as on the other side of the channel the torch and axe had worked social and political revolution and established the rights of man. Near the close of the eighteenth and in the dawn of the nineteenth century, as Taine puts it, "The human mind turned on its hinges and so did civil society."

Scott, who lived after Burns, died before the Victorian reign began, with its splendid burst of letters, its poets, novelists, scientists, philosophers and historians. They made it a many-sided epoch, more lustrous in a galaxy of shining names than any previous period of six decades. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the rise and reign of many brilliant names in English letters. Though yet the dawn of modern life and manners, it saw the entrance of history and philosophy into literature; and as Wordsworth, Shelley and Coleridge were the exponents of the one idea, Scott made manifest the other. The revolution in taste which substituted romantic sentiments and subjects for the classical culminated in his poems. These preceded the great series of prose fictions known as *The Waverley Novels*—and they formed an epoch in the history of modern literature, notwithstanding current slighting allusions to Scott's claim to be a poet and flippant suggestions that his longer poems are merely rhymed-tales, and his songs and ballads only "little exercises in mediocre verse."

It is needless to discuss the relative rank and usefulness of the critic and the poet. Matthew Arnold quotes with emphatic approval Wordsworth's judgment that the critical power is infinitely lower than the inventive—and he said "that if the

quantity of time consumed in writing critiques on the works of others were given to original composition, of whatever kind it might be, it would be much better employed; it would make a man find out sooner his own level, and it would do infinitely less mischief. A false or malicious criticism may do much injury to the minds of others, a stupid invention, either in prose or verse, is quite harmless."

It would, however, be obviously unfair to say, if Walter Scott was not a poet, show us one—or, if "*Marmion*," and "*The Lay*," and "*The Lady of the Lake*," and "*Young Lochinvar*" are not poems, write us one. It is an easy thing to say, with Poe, that a long poem does not exist; "it is simply a flat contradiction in terms"; or as true art is never didactic, a poem that teaches a lesson is not a poem; or tales must be relegated to history, and therefore no rhymed narrative can be a poem—and thus dispose of the question by begging it at the outset.

But if we even accept Poe's own definition that a poem deserves its title in the ratio of its power to excite by elevating the soul; that the poetry of words is the rhythmical creation of beauty, but that while this must be the atmosphere and real essence of the poem, there may yet be introduced the incitements of passion, the precepts of duty, or even the lessons of truth, and of course the events of history, it may fairly be contended that Scott was a true and a great poet; that he well deserved to follow Burns in the primacy of his own time and to precede Byron; that his poetic works alone would have given him imperishable fame; and that when Byron said "*Sir Walter reigned before me*," he spake prophecy as well as truth.

Mr. Lockhart's ten ponderous volumes supply all the facts of Scott's life and career, with such amplitude that the curious may delve there indefinitely to determine what parts, respectively, heredity, genius and environment had in forming his poetic powers. But if he did come from "a riding, sporting and fighting clan," it may have been a happy fortune that made him a sickly child, a lame youth and a not wholly successful lawyer. His habit as a boy of lying on the turf among

the sheep and lambs gave his mind a tenderness for animals which was ever retained and is one of the distinguishing features of his poetry. The lad who was found by his affrighted aunt exulting in the wild thunder storms and shouting "bonny, bonny" at every flash of lightning; the school boy whose head was "on fire for chivalry," who hated Whigs and Presbyterians; the youth who on his sick bed arranged shells, seeds and pebbles to represent encountering armies; who read all he could get in the direction of military exploit, mediæval romance and legend, ballad and border song, was alike by birth, taste and education, certain to soon hear the trumpet call to such achievements in poetic literature as are sounded in this quatrain, key note of his character and career:

"Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
To all the sensual world proclaim,
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth a world without a name."

A complete volume of his poetical works, with his essays on ballads and minstrelsy, his introductions and notes, comprises nearly a thousand octavo pages. Many of these are taken, however, from his novels; in nearly every one of them, in introductory verse, lyric compositions, epitaphs, mottoes and varied bits of poesy he proves that the hand which swept the minstrel harp earlier in his career, had not been wholly cramped by the pen which performed such prodigious labors in the later fields of prose.

In *Waverly*, for example, Davie answers with the song of Lady Rose:

"But follow, follow me
While glow worms light the lea,
I'll show you where the dead should be,
Each in his shroud,
While winds pipe loud.
And the red moon peeps dim through the cloud.

"Follow me, follow me,
Brave should he be
That treads by the night the dead man's lea."

The weird songs of "Meg Merrilies," in *Guy Mannering* are only equalled by the wild and doleful ballad of "Elspeth" in the *Antiquary*. Throughout this work some of the most exquisite verses from his pen are ascribed in the chapter headings to the fanciful "Old Play," or "Old Ballad." Recall these lines from Major Bellenden's song in "Old Mortality":

"For time will rust the brightest blade,
And years will break the strongest bow,"
Was never wight so strongly made,
But time and years would overthrow."

Again he ascribes this motto to imaginary "James Duff"—lines which are strongly suggestive of passages in that stirring hymn "The Son of God Goes Forth to War":

"Arouse thee youth—it is no common call.
God's church is leagured—haste to man the wall.
Haste where the Red Cross banners wave on high,
Signals of honored death or victory."

In "Rob Roy" he makes one of his characters introduce and another speak slightly of those stirring lines to the memory of "Edward the Black Prince," beginning:

"Oh, for the voice of that wild horn
On Fontarabian echoes borne"—

a couplet by the way that he introduces in one of his more extended poems.

Nearly a score of Madge Wildfire's songs in "The Heart of Midlothian" are Scott's own compositions; and most of the mottoes ascribed to "Watt's Hymns" and to various less known sources are only his own clever inventions. None of his prose fiction so abounds with such compositions as "Ivanhoe," where "The Crusader's Return," "The Barefooted Friar," "The Saxon War Song" and "The Funeral Dirge" are only less notable because of the preëminent merit of Rebecca's Hymn. I may be pardoned for quoting at length this splendid tribute to a race who "severed from other men, yet boast their intercourse with human arts."

"When Israel, of the Lord beloved,
 Out from the land of bondage came,
 Her fathers' God before her moved,
 An awful guide in smoke and flame.
 By day, along the astonish'd lands
 The cloudy pillar glided slow;
 By night, Arabia's crimson'd sands
 Return'd the fiery column's glow.

"There rose the choral hymn of praise,
 And trump and timbrel answer'd keen,
 And Zion's daughters pour'd their lays,
 With priest's and warrior's voice between.
 No portents now our foes amaze,
 Forsaken Israel wanders lone:
 Our fathers would not know Thy ways,
 And Thou hast left them to their own.

"But present still, though now unseen!
 When brightly shines the prosperous day,
 Be thoughts of Thee a cloudy screen
 To temper the deceitful ray.
 And oh, when stoops on Judah's path
 In shade and storm the frequent night,
 Be Thou, long-suffering, slow to wrath,
 A burning and a shining light!

"Our harps we left by Babel's streams,
 The tyrant's jest, the Gentile's scorn;
 No censor round our altar beams,
 And mute are timbrel, harp, and horn.
 But Thou hast said, The blood of goat,
 The flesh of rams I will not prize;
 A contrite heart, a humble thought,
 Are mine accepted sacrifice."

The "Owl Song" in *Kenilworth*, instigated by "Mine Host," and, we may well believe, received by favor with his guests, is in a different key:

"The lark is but a bumpkin fowl,
 He sleeps in his nest till morn;
 But my blessing upon the jolly owl
 That all night blows his horn.

Then up with your cup till you stagger in speech,
 And match me this catch, till you swagger and screech,
 And drink till you wink, my merry men each;
 For, though hours be late, and weather be foul,
 We'll drink to the health of the bonny, bonny owl."

In "The Pirate," he ascribes these lines to "an old song," but he was certainly the first to sing it:

"Over the mountains and under the waves,
Over the fountains and under the graves,
Over floods that are deepest,
Which Neptune obey,
Over rocks that are steepest,
Love will find out the way."

In his later novels, the habit increases of appending quaint and often exquisite mottoes, generally rhymed or in blank verse, as headings to his chapters; no later imitator has ever approached him in the excellence of this literary device. Had he written only the verse that has been woven into his prose works, Scott could not have been ranked as an inferior poet.

But it is, of course, by his longer and what has been derided as "sustained effort" that he attained the great vogue which rewarded his earlier labors in the realm of poesy. In these modern days of enormous editions and vociferous, but transitory, literary popularity, we are apt to be suspicious of a book that everybody reads, or of an author that is bought up by the hundred thousand before publication. Yet, even in these days of Gilbert Parker, Bertha Runkle, Mary Johnston or Winston Churchill, it is difficult to conceive what has been called "the rapture of enthusiasm with which the public received the rapid and dazzling succession of Scott's poems." It has never had a parallel in the history of literature, except when he burst forth with the splendor and fertility of his prose romances. When his bust was placed in Westminster Abbey some years ago, our then Ambassador to England, John Hay, delivered an address, in which, with a few brilliant strokes, he pictured most felicitously the enthusiasm of the New West over each recurring publication of Scott's poems and novels. Of the men and women who experienced these emotions, few are now living, but a sense of filial duty prompts one to try and vindicate the soundness of their judgment. Within less than ten years, the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," "Marmion," "The

Lady of the Lake," *Rokeby*," *Lord of the Isles*," *Vision of Sir Roderick*," *The Bridal of Triermain*" and *Harold the Dauntless*," all were written and published, not to mention various lyrical and miscellaneous pieces and some vivid translations.

It may not be uninteresting to note that an individual exception to the popularity of his work was the effect produced upon his lady love, Miss Stuart Belches. Upon being presented with a specially printed, blazoned and bound copy of his translation of a violent German spectre ballad, she promptly declined a suitor who seemed to revel in ghostly wedding journeys and skeleton bridals. Under no other circumstances, perhaps, would she have been heedless of the vividness of his spectre horsemanship:

"Tramp, tramp along the road,
Splash, splash along the sea,
The scourge is red, the spur drops blood,
The flashing pebbles flee."

He was not a callow genius, nor a "wondrous boy." He was nearly thirty-two when he wrote the first of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*," and thirty-four when it was published entire. He admits, in an account of the literary history of it nearly thirty years later, that he dipped what he calls his "desperate pen" into ink for other purposes than those of the legal profession, because he desired to make honorable provision for the rising family of which he had become head. Against the popular aversion to "pot-boilers" in art or literature, it was pleasing to read, in a popular magazine some years ago, a concession that "some of the greatest work in the world has had its origin in the necessity of having three meals a day, or at least two. Certainly, the impulse of the money consideration cannot make an artist; but, on the other hand, it is a poor artist that it can spoil, while it has been the means of discovering a many a one to himself." "We must acknowledge," says the same writer, "the legitimacy of the motive, and acknowl-

edge that a man may write for money without impairing the artistic quality of his work,—indeed, even with a dignity of the sort that comes from fulfilling a fundamental duty to himself and others." "*Marmion*" was rated at a thousand guineas before it was published. The copyright of the "*Lord of the Isles*" was valued at \$15,000. At the same time, Scott says he resolved that literature should be his staff and not his crutch.

Most happily for his fame and popularity, Scott adopted a measure which forms the structure of so much minstrel poetry that he calls it the "Romantic stanza." It is no discredit to the literary-poetic quality of his poetry to say that its form has most happily adapted it to popularity. Readily learned and easily retained, his rhythm abides long and firmly in the memory. Mr. Lowell suggests somewhere as a test of a classic that it must "maintain itself." Judged by this canon of criticism, Scott's merit is indisputable. The ballad of "*Cadyow Castle*" made so strong an impression on Thomas Campbell that, referring to certain stanzas, he says: "I have repeated them so often on the North Bridge that the whole fraternity of coachmen know me by tongue as I pass. To be sure, to a mind in sober, serious, street-walking humor, it must bear an appearance of lunacy when one stamps with the hurried pace and fervid shake of the head which strong, pithy poetry excites."

Sir Walter himself, in one of his diaries, says: "I am sensible that, if there be any good about my poetry, or prose either, it is a hurried frankness of composition, which pleases soldiers, sailors, young people of bold and active dispositions." Mr. Richard H. Hutton, in his brief biography, and Lockhart, in his *Life*, bear the same testimony. Hutton says: "I have heard of two old men—complete strangers—passing each other on a dark London night, when one of them happened to be repeating to himself, just as Campbell did to the hackney coachmen of the North Bridge of Edinburgh, the last lines of the account of Flodden Field in '*Marmion*,'—'Charge,

Chester, charge,' when suddenly a reply came out of the darkness, 'On, Stanley, on,' whereupon they finished the death of Marmion between them, took off their hats to each other, and parted, laughing." "Scott's is almost the only poetry in the English language that not only runs thus in the head of average men, but heats the head in which it runs by the mere force of its hurried frankness of style, to use Scott's own terms, or by that of its strong and pithy eloquence, as Campbell phrased it. And in 'Cadyow Castle' this style is at its culminating point."

No poet of a modern language has ever acquired such popular currency. The uncultured auditor paid a high compliment to Hamlet when he complained that its author indulged in too many familiar sayings. If you will take down your dust-covered books of poetical quotations, you will find manifold evidence of his popularity, and will, perhaps, be reminded that you had not always given him credit for such familiar couplets as these:

"I cannot tell how the truth may be;
I say the tale as 'twas told to me."

Or,

"Her blue eyes sought the west afar,
For lovers love the western star."

Or,

"True love is the gift which God has given
To man alone beneath the Heaven."

Or,

"Just at the age twixt boy and youth
When thought is speech and speech is truth."

Or,

"When Prussia hurried to the field
And snatched the spear but left the field."

Or,

"But woe awaits a country when
She sees the tears of bearded men."

Or,

"Oh what a tangled web we weave
When first we practice to deceive."

The late Charles A. Dana, a gentleman of most excellent literary taste, nearly forty years ago, published an anthology on English poetry, comprising the most beautiful and admirable among the minor poems of the language; he included ten of Scott's short poems. I have heard, in the barrooms of rural taverns on long winter nights, in the gatherings of a country store, under the orchard trees or on the barn bridge of a remote farm, old men recite page after page of Scott, with a familiarity that attaches to no other author. The French critic Taine, speaking of his novels as well as his poems, says: "He has given to Scotland a citizenship of literature—I mean to the whole of Scotland; scenery, monuments, houses, cottages, characters of every age and condition, from the baron to the fisherman, from the advocate to the beggar, from the lady to the fishwife. When we mention merely his name, they crowd forward; who does not see them coming from every niche of memory?"

I recall, with much interest, an incident illustrative of this, occurring nearly twenty-five years ago. There is a very long poem, written in Scott's style, by one Charles Swaim, entitled "Dryburgh Abbey." It represents the author musing in the twilight over Scott's tomb, when there passes through his fancy a cavalcade of the personage to whom his lively pen has given flesh, blood and verity. It is a remarkable piece of work. Securing the latter half of it many years ago, and being unable to procure the first part, I published what was in my possession, with an inquiry for the remainder, when a once distinguished citizen of Lancaster wrote me that, if I would call upon him (his residence then being at the County Almshouse), he would furnish me with the remainder, and, to my great delight, he was able to repeat from memory the entire poem, which I have not seen re-published for nearly a quarter of a century.

In fervid political oratory, few authors supply such fitness of quotation. How could an ejected contestant in a political convention retire with more dramatic effect than by reciting the defiant passage,

"I go, but when I come again,
I'll come with banners, band and men."

The late William B. Mann, lawyer, politician and noted forensic orator of Philadelphia, was very ready to garnish his fine speeches with gems from Scott. A most striking quotation was by the late Senator Quay, in his eulogy on Ex-Speaker Samuel J. Randall, in the United States Senate, when he gave the lines:

"I'd give the lands of Deloraine,
Dark Musgrave were come back again."

William Pitt, who was probably the equal of Mr. Quay as a statesman (and scarcely inferior to him as a scholar), declared that the lines in which Scott depicts the Old Minstrel's embarrassment at being asked to play, produced an effect which Pitt could only have expected to find in painting and to which he had theretofore deemed poetry wholly inadequate.

His personages are declared to be like the figures of *Salvator Rosa* in his landscapes, where the brigands owe their impressiveness to the magnificent background of rock and waterfall. The fire and energy of the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*": "who tuned to please a peasant's ear, the harp a king had loved to hear," translate the reader into the fourteenth century. In "*Marmion*," the description of the battle is pronounced hardly inferior to *Homer*, while in "*The Lady of the Lake*," the magic descriptions of Scottish scenery have made *Loch Katrine*, *Ben Lomond* and the *Trossachs* veritable pilgrim shrines. *Macaulay* says: "The glamour of the great poet's genius has forever hallowed, not only the nature thus first shown in all its loveliness to the curiosity of the world, but even the barbarous tribes whose manners Scott has invested with all the charms of fiction."

He was notably graphic and thrilling in his battle scenes and descriptions of warfare; in depicting the chase; in delineating personal bravery, courtesy and chivalry; in his tributes to the fidelity of horses and dogs; in inspiring love of country and locality, and in his pictures of natural scenery.

Well worthy to stand with such ringing battle ballads as Campbell's "Hohenlinden," Tennyson's "Light Brigade," O'Hara's "Bivouac of the Dead," Burns' "Bannockburn," Bryant's "Battlefield," or Thompson's "High Tide at Gettysburg," are Walter Scott's "Bonnets of Bonny Dundee," "Pibroch of Donuil Dhu," or, finer than either, the "Battle of Flodden" and the combat in "Marmion,"—the first notes of which reach us in the fourth canto, when "mingled trump and clamor loud, and fife and kettledrum, and sackbut deep and psaltery, and war pipe with discordant cry, and cymbal clattering to the sky, making wild music bold and high, did up the mountain come." And this:

"At length the freshening western blast
 Aside the shroud of battle cast;
 And, first, the ridge of mingled spears
 Above the brightening cloud appears;
 And in the smoke the pennons flew,
 As in the storm the white sea-mew.
 Then mark'd they, dashing broad and far,
 The broken billows of the war,
 And plumed crests of chieftains brave,
 Floating like foam upon the wave;
 But naught distinct they see:
 Wide raged the battle on the plain;
 Spears shook, and falchions flash'd amain;
 Fell England's arrow-flight like rain;
 Crests rose, and stoop'd, and rose again,
 Wild and disorderly."

Again:

"But as they left the darkening heath,
 More desperate grew the strife of death.
 The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
 In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
 Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
 To break the Scottish circle deep,
 That fought around their king.
 But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
 Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
 Though bill-men ply the ghastly blow,
 Unbroken was the ring;
 The stubborn spearmen still made good
 Their dark impenetrable wood,

Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well;
Till utter darkness closed her wing
O'er their thin host and wounded king,
Then skilful Surrey's sage commands
Led back from strife his shatter'd bands;
And from the charge they drew,
As mountain-waves, from wasted lands,
Sweep back to ocean blue."

Three of his long poems, of course, stand preëminent: "The Lay," "Marmion" and "The Lady of the Lake." He maintained that the first was distinguished for style, the second for description, and the last for incident. His readers and admirers may differ from him; but he must be a bold critic who denies him poetic genius—in view, not only, of the popular fervor, which greeted him and the homage that has endured, but in opposition to the best judges of classic English letters. Mr. Shaw in his careful review says of his poems:

"In their subjects, their versification and their treatment, they were a novelty and an innovation, the success of which was as remarkable as their execution was brilliant. The materials were derived from the legends and exploits of mediæval chivalry, and the persons were borrowed partly from history and partly from imagination. Scott showed a power somewhat akin to that displayed by Shakespeare in combining into one harmonious whole actions partly borrowed from true history and partly filled up from fictitious invention; and in clothing the former with the romantic hues of imagination and picturesque fancy he showed his power no less than in giving to the latter the solidity and reality of truth. The theatre of his action was generally placed in that picturesque border region which spoke so powerfully to his heart, with whose romantic legends he was so wonderfully familiar, and which furnished, from the inexhaustible stores of his memory, such a

mass of striking incident and vivid detail. The notes which he appended in illustration of his poems, like those in which he had elucidated the relics of ballad minstrelsy, show how vast was his treasury of antique lore; and these relics of antiquarian erudition are lighted up with a glow of picturesque and poetical imagination which transforms the dry bones of mediæval learning into the splendid and living body of feudal revival."

"The Chase," with which "The Lady of the Lake" opens, is a splendid specimen of Scott's best style, in which the stag, the horses and the dogs are introduced in a most effective manner, and the entire passage illustrates his highest powers at their best. What more graceful than this luxuriant bit of wild flower painting:

"Boon nature scattered free and wild,
Each plant or flower, the mountain's child.
Here eglantine embalmed the air,
Hawthorn and hazel mingled there;
The primrose pale and violet flower,
Found in each cliff a narrow bower;
Fox-glove and night-shade, side by side,
Emblems of punishment and pride,
Group'd their dark hues with every stain
The weather beaten crags retain,
With boughs that quaked at every breath,
Grey birch and aspen wept beneath;
Aloft, the ash and warrior oak
Cast anchor in the rifted rock;
And, higher yet, the pine tree hung
His shatter'd trunk, and frequent flung,
Where seem'd the cliffs to meet on high,
His boughs athwart the narrow'd sky.
Highest of all, where white peaks glanced,
Where glist'ning streamers waved and danced,
The wanderer's eye could barely view
The summer heaven's delicious blue;
So wondrous wild, the whole night seem
The scenery of a fairy dream."

Some one has pronounced the finest single line of modern poetry to be this, from T. Buchanan Read's "Closing Scene":

"The thistledown, the only ghost of flowers
Passed noiseless out of sight."

It is fairly rivaled by the description of Ellen Douglass:

"A foot more light, a step more true,
Ne'er from the heath flower dashed the dew.

* * * * *

E'en the slight harebell raised its head
Elastic from her airy tread."

I can hardly understand why so comprehensive a work as Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* should have missed these last two exquisite lines.

If some of the passages I have referred to could be surpassed, Scott reached the climax in the meeting of Fitz James and Rhoderic and the battle with which the poem closes. Think of Sir Adam Fergusson, receiving his copy of "The Lady of the Lake" when posted with his company on a point of ground exposed to the enemy's artillery—his men prostrate, their captain kneeling at their head, reading aloud the description of this battle, and the listening soldiers only interrupting by a joyous huzza when the French shot struck the bank close above them. Well may Hutton ask, "was ever martial poetry put to fitter use and surer test?"

Walter Scott may not have been a poet—to the taste of some of our modern versifiers and their admirers. One of his biographers confesses that he seldom attained the magic use of words as distinguished from the general effect of vigor, purity and concentration of purpose. He excelled in the description of wild and simple scenes and the expression of wild and simple feelings. He never, for example, could have written such lines as these, taken from a prominent religious weekly, credited to a popular modern poet, declared to be "the most genuine and adequate representative in England of a widespread condition":

"White girl, your flesh is lilies
Under a frozen moon,
So still is
The rapture of your swoon
Of Whiteness, snow or lilies."

* * * * *

"Pallid out of the darkness, adorably white,
Pale as the spirit of rain, with the night in her hair,
Renée undulates, shadow-like, under the light,
Into the outer air."

No! Sir Walter could not have written that. He could no more have described "the delicious drowning in a gulf of opium" than Raphael or Murillo could have painted some of the works of the modern impressionist school. He could never have played their tricks with words of Swinburne, Rossetti, Wilde, or even Tennyson. The super-sensuousness of their many feeble imitators is shocked at the elemental ruggedness of Scott. They shiver before the jaws of the Trossachs, and pale at the combat of Flodden; their frightened spirits rush to cover when the heath shakes at the uprising of Rhoderic's clansmen; and their little souls never thrill with the patriotic inspiration of the opening lines of the sixth canto: "Breathes there a man," followed by that noble tribute to Scotland: "O, Caledonia, stern and wild," which McIntosh declared to be the best thing in the poem, and four lines of which are inscribed on one of the poet's many monuments:

"By Yarrow's streams still let me stray,
Though none should guide my feeble way;
Still feel the breeze down Ettrick break,
Although it chill my wither'd cheek."

Mr. Stedman, who is both critic and poet, and altogether the dean of American letters, says: "Action is a substitute for the ideal." Taine rejoices that "the components of carnal art" never found entrance into the head of this gentlemanly citizen. "Walter Scott pauses on the threshold of the soul, and, in the vestibule of history, selects, in a Renaissance and the Middle Ages, only the fit and agreeable, blots out plain

spoken words, licentious sensuality, bestial ferocity. After all, his characters, to whatever age he transport them, are his neighbors, farmer gentlemen and ladies, by their education and character, and a great distance from the voluptuous fools of the Restoration, or the ferocious brutes and fierce beasts of the middle ages." George Saintsbury, grudging in his praise of him, declares "that on no sound theory of poetical criticism can Scott be ranked as a poet below Byron, who was his imitator in narrative and his inferior in lyric."

The very learned Professor Jebb, in his "Introduction to Homer," declares that if the spirit in which Scott reanimates the age of chivalry is compared with the spirit in which Homer reanimates the age of Achean heroism, a genuine kinship is discerned. He makes many interesting comparisons between the two poets, and declares that Scott's strong genius was, in the largest sense, Homeric, as being in natural sympathy with the heroic. "Nowhere else," he says, "perhaps, in modern literature could any one be found who, in an equal measure with Scott, has united these three conditions of a true spiritual analogy to Homer;—living realization of a past heroic age; a genius in native sympathy with the heroic; and a manner which joins the spontaneous impulse of the balladist to a higher order of art and intellect."

One who has stood by the still beautiful home of his creation at Abbotsford, has seen the sun upon the Weirclaw Hill sink sweet in Ettrick's vale, or listened to the ripple of the Tweed's silver current, or viewed Melrose aright, cannot fail to be impressed with the thought in these lines, written in his later days, that, if, perchance, the modern critic fails to see the merit of Scott as a poet, the fault may be in him just as the great minstrel so touchingly doubted whether the change was in his surroundings or in himself, when he sang:

"The sun upon the Weirclaw Hill,
In Ettrick's vale, is sinking sweet;
The westland wind is hush and still,
The lake lies sleeping at my feet.

Yet not the landscape to mine eye
Bears those bright hues that once it bore;
Though evening, with her richest dye,
Flames o'er the hills of Ettrick's shore.

"With listless look along the plain,
I see Tweed's silver current glide,
And coldly mark the holy fane
Of Melrose rise in ruin'd pride.
The quiet lake, the balmy air,
The hill, the stream, the tower, the tree,—
Are they still such as once they were?
Or is the dreary change in me?

"Alas, the warp'd and broken board,
How can it bear the painter's dye!
The harp of strain'd and tuneless chord,
How to the minstrel's skill reply!
To aching eyes each landscape lowers,
To feverish pulse each gale blows chill;
And Araby's or Eden's bowers
Were barren as this moorland hill."

LANCASTER, PA.

III.

SHINTO, THE WAY OF THE GODS.

JESSE FREDERICK STEINER.

The four great religious forces now contending for supremacy in Japan are *Shintoism*, *Buddhism*, *Confucianism* and *Christianity*. It is true that *Shinto* within recent years has by government decree been denied the right to be called a religion, and *Confucianism* is hardly anything more than a system of moral teachings without any supernatural claims, but nevertheless they both exert great influence even to-day and are factors to be reckoned with in the Christianization of Japan. When we turn to tables of religious statistics and try to determine the numerical strength of each of these religions, we find nothing but estimates which are of little value. The difficulty is that the Japanese are very eclectic in their religious tendencies and can see no contradiction in being adherents of two different religious systems at the same time. In America we would hardly expect a man to be both a Mormon and a Christian Scientist, or a Buddhist and a Christian. The Japanese, however, are inclined to look upon their different religions not so much as rivals, but rather as supplementing each other. Thus temporal affairs belong to *Shinto*, spiritual matters belong to *Buddhism*, while the inculcation of morals is entrusted to *Confucianism*. A well-known Japanese professor, Kunitake Kume, said: "I turn to the *Shinto* priest in case of public festivals, while the Buddhist priest is my ministrant for funeral services. I regulate my conduct according to *Confucian* maxims and *Christian* morals. I care little for external forms and doubt whether there are any essential differences in the *Kami's* eyes between any of the religions of the

civilized world."¹ Baron Suyematsu's testimony is: "I can say broadly speaking that all Japanese belong to Shintoism and Buddhism at one and the same time." Still another said: "In one part of my home we have a Buddhist altar, and in another a Shinto. It is the Confucian classics however that are objects of our greatest reverence."

While it may be more accurate to describe present-day Shinto as a patriotic cult rather than as a religion, yet in the eyes of the majority of the Japanese people, its old gods are living powers whose favor must be secured if the nation is to prosper. Through the clever manipulation of farseeing statesmen, the old religious aspirations of the people have been turned into patriotic channels so that to-day the only great prayer of Shintoists is for national prosperity, and all the momentum of this old religion is used to strengthen the foundations of the Imperial House. Its assertion that the present Emperor of Japan is a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess causes him to receive reverence and homage bordering on the divine, and undoubtedly is of great value in securing obedience to even his most arbitrary commands. A knowledge then of Shinto is very necessary for a right understanding of the Japanese people. A study of its past development and of its chief characteristics will throw much light on the elusive traits of Japanese character. Besides it will help us to see more distinctly the religious foundations upon which Christian workers must build in their effort to lead the nation from the way of the gods to Him who is the way, the truth and the life.

Shintoism may be defined as a primitive nature worship, later modified by Buddhist doctrines and Chinese ancestor worship. Scholars are generally agreed that it had its origin among the primitive Japanese long before there was any contact with Chinese civilization. However in those early times it seems to have had no name and no definite organization. It merely consisted of superstitious rites and ceremonies, and the worship of the marvels of nature. Later, when Chinese civili-

¹ Count Okuma's *Fifty Years of New Japan*, Vol. II, p. 41.

zation came to Japan, the term Shinto, meaning way of the gods, came into use to distinguish it from Butsodo, the way of the Buddhas. Through Chinese influence there was introduced ancestor worship which soon came to occupy an important place in Shinto rites. Contact with the more elaborate Buddhism was the incentive which led to a better organization of Shinto. In order that it might resist its foreign rival, Shinto borrowed many Buddhist ideas and ceremonies and gradually developed a more orderly system.

The chief sources of our knowledge of primitive Shinto are the *Kojiki* or Records of Ancient Matters, 712 A.D.; the *Nihongi* or Chronicles of Japan, 720 A.D.; and the *Yengishiki* or Institutes of the Period Yengi, 923 A.D. These books, which are a mass of inconsistencies and obscurities, contain the Japanese conception of the beginnings of the world, all told in a mythical narrative that makes no small demand on human credulity. In the beginning matter already existed. The Japanese cosmographer did not consider it necessary to explain its origin. Out of this chaotic mass, gods were produced who carried on the work of creation and brought into existence heaven and earth and mankind. About the first six generations of gods we know nothing. They were probably imagined in order to provide a genealogy for the seventh generation with whom the work of creation began. This seventh generation consisted of the male deity, Izanagi, and the female deity, Izanami. The *Nihongi* gives us the following account of the creation of earth:²

"The Gods of Heaven addressed Izanagi and Izanami saying: 'There is the country Toyoashihara. Do you proceed and bring it into order.' They then gave them the jewel spear of Heaven. Hereupon the two Gods stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and plunging down the spear, sought for land. Then upon stirring the ocean with it, and bringing it up again,

² This and the following quotations from the *Nihongi* have been taken from Aston's translation published in *Transactions of Japan Society of London*, 1896, Supplement, Vol. I, p. 14 ff.

the brine which dripped from the spear point coagulated and became an island which was called Onogorojima. The two Gods descended, dwelt in this island and erected there an eight-fathom palace. They also set up the pillar of Heaven. . . .³ Having thus spoken, they prepared to go round the pillar of Heaven, and made a promise saying, 'Do thou, my younger sister, go round from the left, while I will go round from the right.' Having done so, they went around separately and met, when the female Deity spoke first and said: 'How pretty! a lovely youth.' The male Deity then answered and said: 'How pretty! a lovely maiden.' Finally they became husband and wife. Their first child was the leech whom they straightway placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift. Their next was the Island of Ahaji. This also was not included in the number of their children. Wherefore they returned up again to Heaven and fully reported the circumstances. Then the Heavenly Gods divined this by the greater divination. Upon which they instructed them saying, It was by reason of the woman's having spoken first; ye had better return thither again. Thereupon having divined a time, they went down. The two Deities accordingly went again around the pillar, the male Deity from the left⁴ and the female Deity from the right. When they met, the male Deity spoke first and said: 'How pretty! a lovely maiden.' The female Deity next answered and said: 'How pretty! a lovely youth.' Thereafter they dwelt together in the same palace and had children."

These children, as the text goes on to relate, were the eight

³ This passage is omitted because of its indecency. Unfortunately all this old Japanese literature is marred by the presence of similar passages. Chamberlain, in the introduction to his translation of the *Kojiki* (*Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. X, Supplement, p. 56), says: "The shocking obscenity of word and act to which the 'Records' bear witness is another ugly feature which must not quite be passed over in silence. The whole range of literature might perhaps be ransacked in vain for a parallel to the naive filthiness of the passage forming Section IV of the following translation."

⁴ The left was considered superior to the right, an idea probably borrowed from the Chinese.

islands which made up the geography known to the people of that day. Then the narrative gives the names of the different deities to whom they gave birth. Among them were the wind gods, the food gods and the gods of trees, mountains and valleys. Their last child was the god of fire, in giving birth to whom his mother Izanami was so badly burned that she died. After her death she went to dwell in the land of Yomi or darkness. The narrative then continues:

"Thereafter Izanagi went after Izanami and entered the land of Yomi. When he reached her they conversed together, and Izanami said: 'My lord and husband, why is thy coming so late? I have already eaten of the cooking furnace of Yomi. Nevertheless I am about to lie down to rest. I pray thee, do not thou look on me.' Izanagi did not give ear to her, but secretly took his many-toothed comb and breaking off its end tooth, made of it a torch and looked at her. Putrefying matter had gushed up and maggots swarmed. This is why people at the present day avoid using a single light at night, and also avoid throwing away a comb at night. Izanagi was greatly shocked and said: 'Nay! I have come unawares to a hideous and polluted land.' So he speedily ran away back again. Then Izanami was angry and said: 'Why didst thou not observe that which I charged thee? Now am I put to shame.' So she sent the eight Ugly Females of Yomi to pursue and slay him. Izanagi therefore drew his sword and flourishing it behind him, ran away. Then he took his black head-dress and flung it down. It became changed into grapes which the Ugly Females seeing, took and ate. When they had finished eating them, they again pursued Izanagi. Then he flung down his many-toothed comb which forthwith became changed into bamboo shoots. The Ugly Females pulled them up and ate them, and when they had done eating them, again gave chase. Afterwards Izanami came herself and pursued him. By this time Izanagi had reached the even Pass of Yomi."

On returning from Yomi, Izanagi carefully bathed in order to purify himself from the corruptions of the lower world. In

this process of bathing a number of deities was created. The Sun Goddess came forth from the washing of his left eye, and to her he allotted the Plains of Heaven. The Moon God, who came forth from his right eye, was given charge of the realm of night. A God named Susa no Wo came from his nose, and took as his kingdom the world beneath the earth. Izanagi's work was now finished, and he dwelt in retirement until the day of his death.

The mythical narrative now tells of the visit of Susa no Wo the ruler of the Lower World to Ameterasu, the Sun Goddess in Heaven. The Sun Goddess was in great fear of his coming, and she had good reason to be for this mischievous god could not restrain himself even in the sacred precincts of heaven. He is said to have broken down the divisions between the rice fields belonging to his sister, to have committed nuisances in the hall where she was celebrating a festival, and to have tortured the pie-bald colt of Heaven and to have thrown it into the room where she and her maidens were weaving the garments of the deities. This so angered her that she entered the rock cave of Heaven and left the world in darkness. This produced consternation among the heavenly deities. They groped around in the darkness and devised various plans to entice her forth from her seclusion. But she was obstinate and declined to show her face again to the world. Finally a female deity arrayed herself in a fantastic way, kindled a fire and in its light performed a rather indecent dance before the assembled gods who were so pleased that they laughed until the heavens shook. The curiosity of the Sun Goddess was aroused, and wishing to know why they were all so boisterous, she peeped out of the door of the cave. A god standing near at once seized her and prevented her from going back into hiding.

These stories might be continued at great length, but only one more will be given to show the line of descent of the Emperors of Japan. Ninigi, the grandson of the Sun Goddess, came down to earth and took up his residence in the southern island of Kyushu. He took as his wife Konohana sakuya

hime, which means the lady blooming like the flowers of the trees. To this union was born a son named Hohodemi who having lost a fish hook in the sea, stood on the seashore and lamented bitterly. While standing there, the Old Man of the sea appeared to him and advised him to seek the help of the Sea God who dwelt in a palace in the depths of the sea. Hohodemi did so, with the result that he not only recovered the lost fish hook, but received in marriage the beautiful daughter of the Sea God. For three years he enjoyed his luxurious life in this wonderful palace, but finally becoming homesick, he returned to the upper world. In a short time his wife followed him and shut herself up in a parturition house to give birth to her child. She cautioned her husband not to look upon her, but his curiosity overcame him and he peeped into the hut only to find that his wife had changed into a monster sea dragon. She felt so keenly the disgrace that had come upon her that she abandoned the new born child and returned to her sea palace, barring the entrance so effectually that no mortal can ever look upon her again. This child was Jimmu Tenno, the first human sovereign of Japan, the date of whose accession to the throne is said to be 660 B.C.⁵

These stories give some idea of the mythology of the Japanese. Some trace a strong resemblance between them and the mythology of other peoples. Others see nothing in these tales but records of invasions and conquests, stories which vaguely outline the struggles of a war-like people contending for a land not their own. Illogical and crude though these stories of early beginnings are, yet largely because the divine origin of the Imperial Line is involved in them, very few Japanese have dared to bring them before the bar of historical criticism.

⁵ Since writing was practically unknown in Japan until the fifth century A. D., our knowledge of the first thousand years of the history of Japan must depend on myths and legends handed down orally, and therefore of not great historical value. The legendary stories concerning the reign of Jimmu Tenno have probably a historical basis in the conquest of Central Japan by an invading army from Kyushu, a few centuries before the Christian era.

However in Japan, as in western lands, religion is being compelled to submit itself to the keen analysis of scholarly minds. The progress of western science in Japan is doing its inevitable work. Before its advance, the fantastic mythology of Shinto must retire into the background of obscurity and disregard. The unfortunate thing about it all is that this breaking up of the old traditions means a rich harvest of scepticism and unbelief, and minds more hostile to the acceptance of religion even in its higher and purer forms.

Shinto not only is rich in myths and legends, but also possesses an innumerable host of gods. Few things in Heaven and earth are unrepresented in its pantheon. The most eminent of all these deities is the Sun Goddess, commonly known as Ameterasu no Okami, or Heaven Shining Great Deity. She is described as the ruler of heaven, but is not regarded as a supreme deity.

Sun worship was especially natural to the primitive Japanese who were an agricultural people. Their daily food, their very existence depended upon the light and warmth of the sun. Even in this modern day many of the lower class in Japan look up to the sun as to a moral being of great power who rewards the good and punishes the evil. Griffis in his *Religions of Japan* says: "To the common people the sun is actually a god as none can doubt who sees them worshipping it morning and evening. The writer can never forget one of many similar scenes in Tokyo when late one afternoon the sun which had been hidden behind clouds for a fortnight shone out on the muddy streets. In a moment as with the promptness of a military drill scores of people rushed out of their houses and with faces westward, kneeling, squatting began prayer and worship before the great luminary." There is a custom of keeping awake the night of October 5 in order to worship the sun at sunrise the following morning. There are several places in Tokyo where many people assemble early on New Year's morning to worship the rising sun.

Among the thousands of other nature deities might be men-

tioned the following: Susa no Wo, the god of the rain storm, a fierce deity, a lover of destruction who vents his rage by visiting the land with typhoons and floods; Tsukiyomi, the moon god; Amatsu Mikahoshi, the star god; Ame no Minakanushi, the sky god; Ohonamochi, the great earth god. Every mountain, every river has its deity. Even wells have their gods which are widely worshipped. If old wells must be filled up, a bamboo is first inserted so as to appease the spirit residing there. There are many fire gods to give protection against conflagrations so common in Japan where all buildings are of flimsy construction. Inari, the rice god, is often prayed to for agricultural prosperity. The functions of this god have in modern times been much enlarged; wives supplicate him to make their husbands faithful, wrestlers to obtain victory in their contests, and geisha for wealthy lovers. The Inari at Kyoto is the special patron of swordsmiths and prostitutes. He is usually represented as a fox, and many of the country people worship the wild foxes and build shrines in their honor.

Trees of special size and age are often worshipped as deities, a tiny shrine being built at their foot. In Kyoto there are two evergreen trees which are joined together by a branch which has grown from one trunk into that of the other. These trees are visited by wives who wish to live in harmony with their husbands. In some places there exists the custom of intimidation of trees that fail to produce fruit. One man climbs up in the tree, while another holding an axe stands on the ground beside the trunk. The latter asks the tree whether it will bring forth a good crop of fruit the next season, and threatens to cut it down if it fails to do so. Then the man up in the branches answers for the tree promising that it will bear plentifully.⁶

Every household has its housegods of various names whose duty it is to guard the buildings from harm. There is even a god of the privy, which one is to address in prayer when one enters and leaves this place. These unclean places are supposed

⁶ Aston's *Shinto*, pp. 164-65.

to be the favorite resort of evil spirits who will do a person harm if he is not under the protection of the deity who resides there.

To this large nature pantheon must be added an immense number of man deities. One of the most conspicuous of these is the war god, Hachiman, whose shrine is seen almost everywhere. His origin is not clearly known, but he seems to have given in ancient times great assistance in repelling an invasion from Korea. Temmangu, the god of learning, was formerly a man named Sugahara Michizane, a scholar of the ninth century. It would be impossible to enumerate even the most famous Shinto gods who are deified⁷ men. It would include the whole Imperial Line, all the heroes of war, statesmen of note and every one whose merit won for him wide recognition. Even men of only local fame are worshipped in their local shrines so that there is before every man the possibility of becoming a Shinto god after death. The spirits of the soldiers who died in the recent wars are given a dwelling place in certain shrines, and every spring a large festival is held when these spirits are worshipped publicly. On such occasions students of the different schools march to these shrines in a body and bow before the spirits of those who died in battle.

Then there are gods of abstract human qualities such as the Sahe no Kami or phallic deities. These gods have never had any temples or written rituals, and seem, at least in later Shinto, not to have had any official recognition. However from the most primitive times, stone and wooden figures, male and female, were set up opposite each other along the highways to guard against evil spirits, and were the special gods of travellers. As late as 1870, the highway between Utsunomiya and Nikko was adorned at frequent intervals with these im-

⁷ We must bear in mind the fact that this deification does not mean to the Japanese mind an elevation to another kind of being. Men and gods differ in degree and not in kind. Deification, then, is simply an elevation to a higher rank and does not confer the qualities we associate with the term deity.

ages, but were then removed by order of the government. The worship was not necessarily immoral. The phallus was the symbol of physical strength and vigor and was often invoked to give protection and aid to those in need. Nevertheless at the phallic festivals in some districts, all restraint was thrown aside and wild orgies were indulged in. Mr. Aston in his translation of the Nihongi says that he once witnessed a phallic procession in a town near Tokyo, which he describes as a "veritable Bacchic rout." There are still domestic shrines in the lupanars where phallic deities are propitiated by keeping a lamp constantly burning before them. To-day it is only in some of the more remote mountain districts that these images can be seen publicly displayed.⁸

This hasty review of the Shinto gods is very incomplete and fails to give an adequate idea of the extent of the pantheon. Every branch of industry has its god patron, and almost every trivial act of daily life has its deity. Nothing is too insignificant to be deified and worshipped as the occasion demands. This custom has naturally resulted in the creation of an immense number of gods who are referred to in popular phrase as "the eight million gods and goddesses."

The shrines in which these Shinto gods are worshipped are not costly or elaborate as are the Buddhist temples. Stern simplicity and plainness characterize all their buildings. No hall is provided for the joint worship of the believers. Assemblies for worship are very rare. Usually the individual worshipper steps before the shrine, rings the gong to summon the deity, claps his hands, bows his head and prays. If his petition is written as is often the case, he hangs it up on the lattice work, and after ringing the bell to dismiss the god he retires. A large box a couple of feet square stands in front of the door to receive the copper coins that are invariably offered by the suppliant. These acts of worship are not performed at

⁸ Those interested in this subject will find further information in E. Buckley's *Phallicism in Japan*, University of Chicago Press, 1895. It was written as a doctor's thesis, and was based on actual investigation in Japan. Also see Aston's *Shinto*, pp. 186-98.

stated intervals. Shinto knows nothing of a Sabbath set apart for religious exercises. Shintoists are not expected to come to the shrine except when they have a favor to ask of the gods.

Shinto in its early days had no special order of priests. The Mikado was at the same time both high priest and king. Gradually however elaborate rituals and ceremonies were evolved, and this made necessary the organization of a regular priesthood. These priests were divided into three classes, the Nakatomi, who had charge of the ritual; the Imbe, who prepared the offerings; and the Urabe or diviners, whose duty it was to find out the will of the gods. The office of priest was hereditary and in former times was a position of great influence; at present however the priesthood has so deteriorated that it no longer commands the respect of the people.

Offerings to the gods were of the most varied kinds. Since the gods were supposed to possess human tastes and desires, it was believed that anything that would please men would please the deities. The most important offerings were food and drink. At the present time the daily offerings made to the Sun Goddess at the shrines of Ise, consist of 4 cups of sake, 16 bowls of rice and 4 of salt, besides fish, fruit, seaweeds and vegetables. Clothing was also in former times offered to the gods, but gradually it became customary to substitute paper which was less expensive. Also in the smaller shrines especially the gods had to be content with very simple offerings. The people contended that since the god did not really eat the food or wear the clothing, a little rice or a few hemp leaves ought to satisfy him as well as more expensive gifts.

The true Shinto shrine contains no images. Shinto is not an idolatrous religion. Its innumerable gods were very seldom fashioned in the likeness of animals or men. The chief object in the shrine is the mirror which the Sun Goddess gave to men to be her substitute here on earth. The two objects that always attract the attention of the foreign observer are the torii and the gohei. The torii consists of two upright posts upon which a large beam rests. It was originally a perch for

the fowls offered up to the gods not as food but to give warning of daybreak. Later its earlier meaning was lost sight of and it has become merely a gateway standing at the entrance of every shrine. The gohei which means sacred offering has the form of a wand supporting a pendant of paper zigzags. It originally symbolized the cloth presented by the worshipper to the god and now signifies the presence of the god himself. It is to Shinto largely what the crucifix is to Roman Catholicism.

Shinto has always insisted upon absolute cleanliness. For the purification of the spirit the best means is the cleansing of the body. Unlimited bathing is considered highly efficacious. In Japan cleanliness of body is a characteristic of the people. Probably the majority of the people enjoy a hot bath nearly every day. Very doubtless this national custom of bathing and Shinto rites of cleanliness have a close relation to each other. However the religious devotee of the Shinto faith who desires to be purified, does not think of enjoying the worldly luxury of a hot bath. His ablutions must be made in water fresh from the well or river regardless of the season. Most efficacious of all is to stand under a waterfall in midwinter; and the best time is the early morning hours before daylight when the gods themselves are enjoying their bath and welcome to their fellowship the mortals zealous enough to take a morning plunge.

In ancient times a less strenuous method of getting rid of the corruption of sin was sometimes followed. A suit of new clothing made for the purpose was breathed upon three times by the one who wished to be purified and then given to the priests to be thrown into the river and allowed to float away. At present this same object is attained in a less expensive way. Some white paper cut into the shape of a garment is received from the priests at the shrine. Upon this the person writes his name, day of birth and sex, and then rubs it over his whole body. After his impurities have in this manner been transferred to the paper, it is given back to the priest who throws it away in the river or the sea. There was formerly a national purification ceremony in which the Emperor by virtue of being

a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess declared to the people absolution of their sins and impurities. This ceremony was performed twice each year at the end of the 6th and 12th months. In later times there have arisen many perversions of this purification ceremony. Sometimes the priests make up a small package consisting of a fragment of an old shrine and a small piece of gohei, and then sell this to their parishioners as a kind of symbol of purification. We must bear in mind however that in all these rites it was ceremonial cleansing and not purity of heart that was the goal in view.

There is also a demon expelling ceremony called Oniyarahi for the purification of private dwellings. In this ceremony, disease and ill luck are personified and then driven away with some show of violence. Formerly a man would dress up as a devil or would disguise himself as a demon of pestilence and then would be forcibly expelled by the people. At the present time on the last day of the year, the master of the house goes through the different rooms and scatters parched beans in every corner, at the same time crying out, "Oni wa soto; fuku wa uchi," that is "out with the devils and in with the luck." The common people believe in the efficacy of the beans because they hit the devils in the eye and blind them.

There might also be mentioned the tatarigami wo utsushi tatematsuru norito or service for the respectful removal of deities who send a curse. In the course of this ceremony the mischievous deities are presented with various offerings more or less costly, and then are requested to retire to some quiet place in the mountains and enjoy there the offerings rather than to remain about the house and carry on their evil work.⁹

Festivals form the chief part of religious worship in Shinto, but with their revelry, feasting and rejoicing, they do not seem intended to express the higher religious emotions. Once a year the local deities must be taken out for an airing, and in

⁹ Just last year in a suburb of Tokyo, the evil spirit of a haunted bridge was exorcised by Shinto priests with elaborate and costly rites.

this duty all the people participate and make of the occasion a magnificent carnival or picnic. The great feature of these festivals is the procession in which the different deities are carried amid great splendor through the principal streets. To carry the gods in triumphal procession is regarded as a fitting expression of popular devotion. Sometimes this revelry is carried to excess and the festival begun in honor of the gods is ended in debauchery. Visitors to the famous shrines of Ise will find houses of vice within sight of the sacred groves, and the devout pilgrims who fall victims to the wiles of the courtesans are not disqualified for the accomplishment of their pious purpose. By the simple act of bathing the body, all impurities are removed and the sins of the night are forgotten.

In the processions each deity is carried in a sacred palanquin, a shrine on wheels, the whole being magnificently decorated with gilt and lacquer. The deity ordinarily is not exposed to view but is hidden in the seclusion of the shrine, and is often represented merely by some symbol of his presence. The familiar sight of a Shinto procession¹⁰ is one that can never be forgotten. The priests in festal robes followed by crowds of attendants bearing various sacred objects and old relics, the grotesquely masked musicians with their weird music, the sacred cars bearing the special deities who are being honored, each car being followed by attendants carrying the deities, banquet table and rice box, and last of all a wagon with a large platform on which are thirty or forty dancing girls and actors posturing, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of flute and drum. The streets through which the procession passes are crowded with people dressed in their gayest colored clothes for it is a picnic time for all who live in that district. All the approaches to the shrine are decorated with lanterns, flags and evergreen arches. Vendors of toys, cakes and various knickknacks, have booths in every available

¹⁰ These processions are by no means a thing of the past. In "The Far East" of August 30, 1913, can be found a very dramatic description of the Temma festival at Osaka in which all the old rites and ceremonies were carried out on a magnificent scale.

space in the temple yard. Professional actors and dancing girls act out historical dramas on elevated platforms in full view of all the people. Crowds of happy people surge back and forth spending their money freely, all bent on making the most of their holiday. Now and then a solitary person will slip out of the crowd, bow before the shrine and worship the god in whose honor the festival is held. But such acts of worship are not a necessary part of the day's program, and doubtless in the minds of most of the people these festivals awaken no religious sentiments whatsoever.

One of the greatest festivals in Japan is the Gion matsuri in Kyoto, at which the object of worship is a sword forged by a celebrated swordsmith of the past. This sword is supposed to possess the power to cure some kinds of sickness and is held in the most reverential honor.

In one of the suburbs of Tokyo, the eagle has a shrine built in its honor, which has become a place of pilgrimage for wrestlers, dancing girls, courtesans, tradesmen and for all who desire to gain riches. Every November thousands of people attend the eagle festival and purchase harbingers of luck to insure their good fortune the following year. At some shrines on the last evening of the year, the people assemble in order to light their tapers from the lamp kept burning perpetually within the shrine. This lighted taper is then taken home and placed before the household altar as a beacon of domestic prosperity. Pieces of charred wood received from the priests are worn as amulets to ward off pestilence and plague.

Pilgrimages are very popular among the Japanese. Every summer between July and September the roads to popular shrines are crowded with pilgrims with wallet in girdle, and staff in hand. While these pilgrimages are made ostensibly for a religious purpose, yet they are by no means solemn journeys with the idea of penance or austerity uppermost in the mind. They seem more like walking picnic parties slightly colored by piety. Women are allowed to visit the shrines on the plains, and gaily bedecked parties of the fair sex off on a

holiday excursion to a local shrine is one of the picturesque sights of the country districts. But the sacred shrines on the mountain peaks are not for women worshippers. Woman is considered too godless a creature to tread such sacred ground. For her the gorgeous sight of a mountain sunrise is not possible. She must be content with the more prosaic plains where dwell the gods of lesser note.

As the pilgrims march up the steep mountain paths they join in a kind of chant which only by courtesy could be termed music. A common refrain is: "Rokkon Shōjō; Oyama kaisei;" which means: May our six senses be pure and may the weather be fine on the mountain peak. This is a purification prayer joined with a petition for fine weather, this latter seemingly trivial request being indeed of great importance for mountain climbing in the rain does not conduce to piety.

These examples of religious rites mixed with strange superstitions might be multiplied at great length. The higher classes and those who are well educated laugh at the common people who still cherish the old forms and traditions. But since the lower classes, the artisans, traders and farmers, represent by far the majority of the people, we can easily see that these rites still play a great part in molding the life of the nation.

When Buddhism was introduced into Japan in 522 A.D. Shinto as a religion was doomed. The foreign faith with its fine architecture, elaborate ritual and ornate costumes worn by its priests was far more attractive than the simple rites and customs of the Shintoists. Also in its ideals of love and humanity, in its doctrines of the future and in its advocacy of a holy contemplative life, Buddhism struck a new note entirely unknown to the old Shinto cult. At first the two religions were bitter rivals, but gradually the new and more vigorous religion conquered the old by a process of absorption. A religious genius of the eighth century declared that an oracle had revealed to him that the Shinto Sun Goddess was none other than the great Buddhist Vairochana, who was the personifica-

tion of absolute purity and enlightenment. This happy thought was further amplified by recognizing all the chief Shinto gods as incarnations of former Buddhas. This new religion called Ryobu Shinto was essentially Buddhist. It received from Shinto very little more than a number of deities. Buddhist priests took charge of Shinto shrines, beautified them and conducted the services in accordance with Buddhist traditions. The national shrines at Ise were powerful enough to resist the encroachments of Buddhism, and to this day Shinto worship is carried on there in its original simplicity. Of course many local shrines especially in country districts remained untouched by Buddhist influence. But nevertheless as Chinese civilization gained a foothold in Japan, the old traditions were more and more cast aside and Shinto entered into a period of decline.

In the eighteenth century there was a reaction against the high place accorded Chinese learning in Japan, and some scholars who had studied deeply the past history of their nation, began to advocate the banishment of foreign influences and a return to the old Shinto faith. However this agitation for the revival of Pure Shinto was a retrograde movement which was destined to end in failure. Its greatest result was in arousing a sentiment among the people that led to the Restoration of 1868 when the Shogunate was abolished and the Emperor was given his rightful place as the real head of the nation. But this new era which Shinto helped to usher in was destined to bring in new forces against which Shinto was not able to stand. The new learning from the west soon revealed the absurdities upon which the foundations of Shinto really rest. The disestablishment of Shinto soon followed as a matter of course. By government decree Shinto was secularized and placed by itself under the care of a bureau of shrines, while Buddhism and Christianity were looked after by the bureau of religions. The officials of the shrines at Ise have asserted within recent years that Shinto is "merely a mechanism for keeping generations in touch with generations and pre-

serving the continuity of the nation's veneration for its ancestors." It has thus based its final stand not on religion but on national sentiment.

This disestablishment of Shinto could not have been accomplished so easily, if it had possessed the characteristics of a real religion. In our discussion of the myths of Shinto, its gods, its priests, its worship, its ceremonies and festivals, we have said very little about its positive religious teachings. The fact is its theology is so meager that there is very little to say about it. Its whole body of doctrine can be summed up in the phrase, "Fear the gods and obey the Emperor." It does not have a supreme deity. It says nothing about a holy and righteous God who hates evil; or about a loving God who forgives the penitent. It has no positive teachings about the future life. Its underworld has a real existence, but it is simply the abode of the spirits of those who have gone on before. There is nothing to indicate that a man's welfare after death is affected by his conduct in this life. It has no code of morals and makes no pretence of bettering the moral life of its adherents.

It believes in the efficacy of prayer, but its prayers are always for material blessings. Spiritual needs are not considered. Through pilgrimages, offerings and lustrations, efforts are made to please the deities in the hope that some material benefit may be received. Such prayers as "Help us to live a good life," "Lead us not into temptation" or "Thy will be done," are entirely absent from its rituals.

Its chief mission at the present time in the eyes of the government is to strengthen the foundations of the Imperial house. Patriotism and loyalty are its great virtues. It teaches that Japan is the country of the gods and therefore superior to all other countries. Its Emperor is no ordinary mortal but is a descendant of the gods and therefore his right to rule can not be questioned. It takes the religious longings and emotions of the people and turns them into patriotic channels. It teaches men to believe that the highest and noblest life is that which is spent in the service of their country.

While all this is true, yet Shinto still is a real religious force. It is hard to realize the strong hold it has on the lower classes. Tens of thousands of pilgrims journey many weary miles each spring to worship at the shrines of Ise, while vast numbers of others pay their respects to shrines of lesser note. Many a peasant believes that his farm will not bring forth good fruit unless his pilgrimage to Ise has been accomplished. Many a business man attributes his failure to the neglect of this important journey. Many a family still believes that its welfare depends on securing the favor of its household gods.

All this has to be taken into account in our efforts to Christianize the Japanese nation. It is a serious thing to undermine the crude faith of even the humblest peasant, for his mind may not be able to grasp the higher truths that are offered. In order that our efforts to help may lead, not to doubt but to a fuller conception of the truth, great wisdom on our part is required. More is necessary than simply a passionate zeal for the cause of Christ. Patience must possess our hearts, the spirit of intolerance so characteristic of us Christians must be subdued, and through careful study of the religions of the world we must learn to see God's hand in it all striving to lead men out into the light. To God's all seeing eye there must be visible some great purpose in this diversity of faiths, so different in their explanations of the mysteries of life. We ministers of his must try to gain this vision so that we can intelligently present the Christian message to the whole world.

Shinto is not numbered among the great religions of the world. Not many think it worthy of serious study. But those who are interested in the Christianization of Japan must realize that it is a force that has got to be reckoned with. Its day of usefulness may be gone but its impress is stamped deeply on the character of the people. The classic literature of the nation is filled with allusions to Shinto rites and beliefs, and the folk lore and fairy tales so dear to every Japanese child, have to do with the deeds of the gods of Old Japan. For years, yes for generations many Japanese will look at

Christianity through Shinto eyes, and even those who accept Christ will find it hard to adjust their new truths to the thought world inherited from their fathers. All this impresses us with the fact that to win Japan for Christ is a serious work calling for our best efforts, and demanding a deep faith in God's purpose to lead all his people into one fold.

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
CHICAGO, ILL.

IV.

EVANGELISM IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

A. O. REITER.

The word "evangelist" as it comes to us direct from the Greek, signifies a teller of good news. The word evangelism, an English derivative, would therefore mean the habit, custom or practice of telling the good news. But the word evangelist in New Testament Greek has a specific meaning. The good news is the news that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself. And that the Christ has come and dwelt among men in the person of Jesus who was born of Mary, lived and taught and worked wonders in Judea and Galilee, died on the cross on Calvary, rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and in these last days has poured out of his spirit upon men to the end that being empowered by Him they may call into the church all that are being saved. And this one spirit has conferred different gifts on different men. In Ephesians 4: 11, we read: "He gave some to be apostles and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers." Evidently the word evangelist, to Paul did not signify every disciple or preacher nor would the term evangelism be applied to every activity of the followers of Christ. But if we may not use the term evangelist of every disciple or preacher in the first century, we shall certainly go equally wide of the mark if we assume that Paul had in mind any hard and fast classification of Christian preachers in the church of his day. In I. Cor. 12: 28, he speaks of apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps, governments and divers kinds of tongues; and does not mention evangelists. A like omission must be noted in Rom. 12: 8, where a similar catalogue is

given. Paul is not dealing with orders, or offices within the church, nor is he aiming to give a complete list of all the Christian charisma. His purpose is rather to illustrate his meaning, and to give a general classification along the lines of function and message. In II. Tim. 4: 5, after charging him to "preach the word, be urgent in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and teaching" Paul also enjoins Timothy to "do the work of an evangelist." In this contrast, we have the key to the particular shade of meaning the word evangelist had in the mind of Paul. The apostles were the followers of Jesus who, giving up all, went forth in obedience to the spirit to preach. Their message was a twofold message. Like the prophets of old they were to hold before the people high ideals of righteousness. Without fear or favor they were to make known the demands of God. It was theirs to reprove, rebuke and call to repentance. This was the apostle or preacher in his prophetic function. But these same apostles or others better fitted by the gift of the spirit were to tell to the faint-hearted and the fallen, the sin-cursed and the helpless, the good news of God's infinite love, revealed in the word of grace made flesh, that man, however weak and helpless in himself, might hope with God's renewing power to attain even the high standards demanded by the prophet. And this was the work or function of the evangelist. The same man might be both prophet and evangelist, if, of the spirit of Christ, he had received the double gift. And that same man might also be pastor and teacher, theologian, and poet, and helper of all. There was nothing in the constitution or practice of the early church to prevent a man's being all these. The only limit to the Christian's activities were those imposed by his natural fitness or unfitness for the work, as these were revealed in the power of the spirit. The evangelist differed from the prophet only in that he emphasized more than the prophet the gracious, loving character of God's approach to sinful man.

But one other shade of meaning the word evangelist very

early came to have, which is indicated when we contrast it with the words pastor and teacher. The pastor, as a shepherd, nurtured, fed and cared for those who were already of the Christian fold. The teacher gave specific instruction to those who were eager to learn the way of life. The evangelist had a message of hope and assurance for the stranger, the outcast and the prodigal. This meaning still inheres in the word and is legitimate.

Thus a study of the New Testament use of the word evangelist reveals to us no *jure divino* theory of ecclesiastical order, but it does vindicate for us a word and practice which many of us in the Reformed Church have far too often seemed to fear. As ministers of the word, apostles sent forth in the name of Christ, it is our duty to be not only prophets of righteousness, pastors feeding our flocks, and teachers enlightening our people, but also evangelists speaking in words of love and grace to the discouraged and the heartbroken and to all who will hear us no matter how far from the kingdom of God they may seem to be. Evangelism is the telling of the good-news to those who need that message, as prophetism is the unconditional condemnation of sin and the categorical imperative of duty to those who need that message, and it is largely to evangelism that we as ministers of the gospel—the good-news—of Christ are called. We have no right to allow a certain set of men, who in spirit and in the substance of their message are far more nearly in harmony with John the Baptist, the last of the prophets, than with Jesus the gracious Saviour of mankind, to usurp to themselves the good old name of evangelist and to put upon us the title of mere preacher. We are or ought to be every one of us evangelists, and that is one of our highest and best titles.

Historically the Reformed Church has always been evangelical. The word gospel, of Anglo-Saxon origin, means exactly the same as the Greek evangel—the good message. And as a church we have always insisted that the preaching of the gospel is the power of God unto salvation. Less, rather than more than other branches of protestantism, have we

held up the terrors of the law, the wrath of an angry God, and the demands of righteousness as incentives to a decision for Christ and His cause. More, rather than less than others, have we preached the love of God revealed in Christ, the good-news that God forgives sins, and waits to bless those who trust Him as the chief reasons for man's giving himself a living sacrifice of thankfulness to God. To call evangelical a sermon like that celebrated one of Jonathan Edwards entitled "Sinners in the hands of an angry God" and to deny that title to a sermon like that of the late Dr. Nevin on the text "*I am come that they might have life and have it more abundantly,*" is to make a complete reversal in the meaning of an ancient word. When we apply the term evangelism to a concerted and commercialized propaganda, characterized by vulgarity, vituperative tirade and abuse; and marked by physical and emotional excess; while denying the term evangelism to the loving, sympathetic telling of the story of the passion and death and triumph of our Lord in holy week, we sin against every canon of language, ancient, mediæval and modern.

The real evangelists of the Christian world are those humble, pious followers of the Master, pastors or people, who having known the joys of sins forgiven, and tasted the sweetness of fellowship with Christ, rejoice to tell in word or deed the old, old story, the glad new story of a loving father revealed in the son, and forever present in the Holy Spirit, within the contrite heart. Of such evangelists the Reformed Church has always had many and has many to-day. And in the real evangelism of the world the Reformed Church has born a noble and a worthy part.

But when we come to apply the other test of evangelism, which comes not from the root meaning of the word but from an acquired meaning very early added to it, namely, that of telling the good news not only to those of the household of faith but also to the stranger, the outcast and the prodigal, then perhaps we shall have to confess that we of the Reformed Church have not measured up to our full duty. As a church

we have cared for our own, we have provided pastors and teachers for the little ones God has given us, we have followed the erring and the straying of our own households and sought to win them back to Christ. In our catechetical system we have a method of evangelism for which we have no cause to apologize. It has stood the test of time and to-day we are bringing into the church and into fellowship with Christ a very much larger percentage of the children of our own households than do those churches that depend on revivals as a means of evangelizing. *As a Christian discipline, formation is better than reformation. Christian nurture is the normal and natural means of bringing up those whom parents have dedicated to Christ in baptism. A psychic earthquake more properly described as transversion than as conversion is abnormal and becomes a necessity only when Christian nurture has been neglected or has failed. But around us in the world there are thousands in whom Christian nurture has failed or has been neglected. They are often of other races, other faiths than our own. For many of them it seems, "no man careth." Have we done our full duty, are we doing our full duty toward these? And if not what change in custom or method or practice or belief must we make that we may reach them? We are not now raising the question of foreign missions, nor even of home missions, but rather that of the inner mission that belongs to every congregation to evangelize those that live in the streets and lanes of our own cities, or lie by the highways and hedges within our own purlieus.*

In answer to the first of these questions we may say, that, frankly confessing that we have not done our full duty, and that we are not doing our full duty, we have nevertheless done much more than we are generally credited with doing, and that it has been quite as effectively done as when done by other religious bodies and by other methods. Proportional to our numbers we have reached and held for Christ and his church fully as large a percentage of the strangers and outcasts living within our parishes as has any other denomination. That our

statistics do not show this fact is due to our transferring constantly to other denominations so many of our people, and this in turn comes from the very breadth and catholicity of our teaching of which we are justly proud. We must suffer "the defects of our qualities." And we have suffered in our statistical reports, but the church at large has not suffered and the cause of Christ has not suffered. On the contrary our evangelism has been blessed of God and the whole of Christendom has felt the beneficent effect of it.

In answer to the other question, what change in custom, method, practice or belief must we make in order that we may reach more fully and more effectively those who are unchurched and without Christ, let me first quote a statement made publicly by Fred B. Smith, the chairman of a conference on evangelism held under the auspices of the Federation of Churches. "We (of the revivalistic churches) have much more to learn about evangelism from you (the representatives of the Reformed and Lutheran churches) than you have to learn from us." Certainly if we are to make any changes it will not be in the direction of a spasmodic and violent revivalism. We shall not forbid others to use such methods. For even the wrath of men may be made to praise him. But we should ill fulfill our part in the world's work as witnesses for Christ in a true evangelism by conforming to a method that already has an abundance of advocates. Probably the greatest difficulty in the way of a true evangelizing of the average man outside the pale of Christianity in our western cities to-day in his virtual identification of religion with revivalism. And if he has ever come under the spell of a Sam Jones, a Torrey, a Williams or a Billy Sunday and been "converted" and has not been subsequently nurtured and cared for by some pastor or teacher, his case is well-nigh hopeless. An honest and fearless prophetism, a sane and rational evangelism millions of unchurched and Christless people in our country need. But a mechanical and commercialized emotionalism masquerading as both prophetism and evangelism has so usurped the

attention of the people and crystallized their ideas of religion, that the prophet and the evangelist have great difficulty in getting a hearing.

But when we say that violence or revivalism is not the true and natural method of a genuine evangelism, we must not forget that the Kingdom of God may suffer from violent causes other than those which grow out of the emotions. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we had a "revival of learning." The Christian world produced great "experts" of erudition, and the result of the over stressing of the intellectual side of religion was the dead and deadening rationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England and Germany. And again back nearly a thousand years in the history of Christianity the whole of Christendom was stirred by a voluntaristic revivalism which had as its object the rescue of the tomb of Christ from the hand of the Saracen. Perhaps, history never repeats itself, but there is often a strong similarity in the cycles of evolution. The movements, campaigns, organizations and schemes innumerable which so strongly characterize the Christianity of the twentieth century certainly bear a strong resemblance to the crusades of a millennium ago. Certainly it is true that "from the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force"; and it matters not whether this violence come from the over stressing of the emotions, the intellect or the will. The son of man, who comes eating and drinking, living a normal life, using all his powers of head and heart, all that "wisdom which is justified of her children" though it lead to the cross, in a sane and genuine evangelism, in the twentieth century as well as the first must deal with people who are like children playing in the markets, and demanding ever some new game to awaken their jaded interest.

Our critics say of us that we are too coldly intellectual, that we preach a religion of the head and not of the heart. And more recently we are told that we are too theoretical and not sufficiently practical, and that it behooves us to "get on to the

job" and taking a leaf from the book of the big corporations of the world "organize for big things." Honest criticism we should welcome, and humbly ask ourselves if it be true. Certainly we are not beyond making mistakes, and we may be erring in stressing too strongly what we are pleased to call "educational religion." But shall we improve our evangelism if we exchange educational religion for either the emotionalistic revivalism or the voluntaristic revivalism that to-day hem us in on either side?

"Not by might and not by power, but by my spirit saith the Lord" is as true in the things of the spirit to-day as it was in the days of the Hebrew prophet. The machine may be admirable but the creaking of the wheels is likely to scare the man who is to be caught and transformed by it. A system that gives a certain church a certain district, and a certain church officer a certain street to be evangelized, and a certain time within which a certain number are to be reached and won for Christ, may be very admirable in the eyes of the man whose shibboleths are standardization and organization and efficiency. But unfortunately for the system, neither the spirit of God nor the spirit of man work that way. The spirit of God is as the wind that bloweth where it listeth and the spirit of man discerns intuitively the spiritual things of a man. The man who is approached by a certain man on a certain day because the standardized organization makes it that man's duty to tell the good news to that man on that day, and not because of a genuine and personal love in his heart is very apt to give back a cold and icy stare instead of a glad response to the well meant invitation. Coöperation between pastor and people is both desirable and necessary, but the mechanism of a concerted campaign is liable to prove disastrous. Personality, spontaneity, freedom from conventionality and pure love are of the very essence of genuine and successful evangelism and these are all liable to be destroyed through over-organization or systemization of an evangelistic campaign.

But we are told we must do something to check the fearful

losses which the church now sustains annually through the erasure of names. This evil seems to have reached alarming proportions, not only in the Reformed Church but in all churches including the Roman Catholic. Whether the names are actually erased or not is not of great importance, the fact remains that many who have followed Christ for a longer or shorter period, no longer are to be found among his disciples. We are told, to check this evil, we must have a new evangelism, an evangelism that is organized, definite, business-like. A card index, with an up to date "follow up" system is recommended and urged upon us. Social service with a definite social activity for every member is also recommended. What a pity it is that none of these things had as yet been discovered on that day when Jesus and the twelve, returning from the feeding of the five thousand, found that the multitude, caring only for the "meat that perisheth," had forsaken him and walked no more with him. Perhaps then He might have been spared that sad almost despairing question: "Will ye too go away?" Perhaps it is the fault of pastors and their consistories who neglect to shape their evangelism to the demands and customs of our age, that so many care so little about the word of God, the bread of the soul. Perhaps it was the fault of Jesus and his consistory that so many turned back, when his kingdom proved not to be of the kind they wanted. But far more probable is it that in the twentieth century as well as the first, the faithful servant must continue to sow the seed, though some of it fall by the wayside, and some on stony ground, and some among thorns, where though it give promise of results it yields no harvest. He must be satisfied, that some falls on good soil, and, growing until the harvest, produces bountifully. In proportion to the number of followers, there were more "erasures" in that third year of the Master's ministry, than in any year since. But the Master did not consider that a reason for changing his rejection of the temptations in the wilderness. He was come not to render social service by increasing the food supply, nor to interest the people through providing a

spectacle, nor to control the kingdoms of this world as a political power even in the interest of righteousness. He had come that men might have life. And his message was the evangel, the gospel, the good-news of the kingdom, the rule of God in human hearts, the peace of God for all who would come to Him. His fealty to his purpose led to the practical disruption of his church, and Him to Gethsemane, and the Cross. A like evangelism in the twentieth century may have little more semblance of what the world calls success.

But we have not done our full duty and we are not doing our full duty in evangelizing the sinning, suffering, sorrowing sons of men who are living all about us, and awaiting, though knowing it not, the good news we have to tell. What change do we need to make in custom, practice or belief that we may measure up to our responsibility. First of all must we not realize what was meant by the protestant doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers? Our people must know that not only the pastor but that they too are priests of God to bring others to Him. The preacher in the Reformed Church may well represent the apostle of Christ, he may likewise be the prophet to the congregation. But every man, woman and child who has tasted and seen that the Lord is good, must become witnesses, tellers of the good news in word and deed to all around them. And actions speak far louder than words. If we could have every member of the Reformed Church present at every public service in our churches for one year, thereby showing to the world that to us fellowship with God is of more importance than money getting and the source of greater joy than automobile riding or trolley riding or baseball or feasting, even though we said not one word to the foreigners living about us, they would be evangelized and would be found pressing into our churches to ask a share in that which we found so precious. And if in addition to this zeal in worship we added a genuine, kindly and loving interest in times of sorrow and trial, and an occasional spontaneous testimony to the help and blessing we receive from communion and fellowship

with God, we should be compelled to enlarge our churches in the near future. Our people do not recognize this responsibility, nor are they entirely to blame, we of the ministry have been largely at fault. We have far too often and too continuously treated them as though they were the objects of our evangelizing energy (using that word in the Pauline sense) when instead we should have been prophets (likewise in the Pauline sense) to announce to them the unconditional demands of God. Under social conditions altogether different from those now existing, there grew up in this country a custom of purely social visiting which to this day demands that a preacher waste a large part of his energy in coddling saints, instead of evangelizing sinners. The people expect it, and we are weak enough to yield to the demand. The people should be made to know that they are not merely "the saved monuments of divine grace," but likewise centres and sources of divine energy: that having named the name of Christ and enlisted in his service by uniting with the church, it is their unconditional duty first to attend public worship that they may receive the benefit of the minister's labors as *pastor*, that is, provider of food, and *teacher*, that is, instructor in the way, and second to become *evangelists*, that is, tellers of the good news in word and especially in deed, to all with whom they come into contact. And that the people may come to know and realize these things we preachers need to reassert far more strongly than we have been doing our apostolic and prophetic function. The minister is but one of the servants in the household of the great King. He is the pastor, the steward, the preparer of the food for the feast. It is the duty of the other servants of the same household to go out into the streets and lanes of the city, the highways and hedges of the surrounding country to invite or constrain men to come to the feast of the bread of God, the pastor has planned and prepared. If the pastor leaves his rightful task to do this work or worse still, coax rebellious fellow servants to the table, the meal itself will be overdone or underdone or not done at all. We must refuse

to become servers of tables, messenger boys to toady to the disgruntled, mechanics to construct, furnish the motive power and run ecclesiastical machinery, or even promoters of movements and campaigns after the pattern of big business for the glory of God. We have higher and holier and more important duties to perform than these. And highest of all is the duty of reawakening the consciousness of the reality and presence of a living, personal God, who both animates human hearts, and demands of those he has touched, service in his name. If we of the Reformed Church are ever to attain to the measure of our duty in the service called evangelism, we of the ministry will have to apply ourselves a great deal more closely than we have been doing to the one all embracing duty which is the sole enduring basis for service. The great crying need of our day is God, a conscious reality in the lives of the people. To far too many, God is simply a name, and the church simply a contrivance for social uplift, and both necessities for civilization. We must make God the most real person in all the world, the church the one institution that teaches men to walk humbly with God, taking Jesus Christ as their pattern and the Holy Spirit as their guide and sustainer. If we do this, evangelism together with every other form of real service will follow as a fruit as naturally and as certainly and with as little machinery as grapes grow on the vine.

Since the earliest times in the Christian Church, Whit-Sunday and Easter have been the great days of ingathering for the church, and the preceding seasons of Epiphany and Lent, times of special evangelistic effort. Among Protestants, preserving a churchly order (the Reformed, Lutheran and Episcopal Churches), this practice has been consistently continued and God has blessed this evangelistic zeal with abundant fruitage. What we need is this same zeal, this same devotion and consecration, throughout all the year. It has been well said that "nothing great was ever done without enthusiasm." And just as truthfully we might say that nothing lasting was ever done through an artificially stimulated enthu-

siasm. Not stimulants, emotional, intellectual or voluntaristic, but God in us, as the power to will and to do His good pleasure, alone can make us faithful and fruitful evangelists. God has blessed our evangelism in the past, He continues to bless it with a fruitage commensurate to our zeal. The faithful pastor and the faithful lay members of the church who have experienced the life of God in their own soul by the power of the Holy Spirit continue to go in and out of the streets and lanes, the highways and hedges of the world, striving to communicate by the living touch of character and the power of the word and spirit, that same spirit and that same life to God's other and hitherto less fortunate children. As individuals we touch individuals, as persons we touch persons, as the sons of God we go to God's others son's to tell them the father still loves them, and assure them of His welcome. And as the evidence and proof the sign and seal of that love and assurance we tell them the good news, the gospel, the evangel of Christ the Son of God. The Reformed Church will become more effective and more fruitful in this glorious work when we as ministers yield ourselves unreservedly to the great work of God, as apostles of Christ to train the great priesthood of believers to know that our mission is not to them alone, but to make of them missionaries and evangelists to the world.

POTTSVILLE, PA.

V.

COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE: EDITED AND
ANNOTATED.

JOHN BAER STOUTT.

The following letter, written by Simon Dreisbach, Jr., an elder in Zion's Reformed Congregation, Stone Church, of Allen township, Northampton county, Pa., to Rev. Johannes Helfrich, recently came into my possession. It gives us a pen-picture of the religious conditions of the western part of what is now Northampton county during the colonial period and reveals a denominational consciousness to which the Reformed Church owes her preservation. It further enables one, together with the minutes of Cœtus, to trace the development of the Stone Church, which, together with the First Reformed Church of Easton, are the oldest Reformed congregations in the county.

The first mention of this congregation is found in the diary of Rev. Michael Schlatter, who visited it June 25 and 26, 1747.

"From Wednesday to Saturday the 24th, 25th and 26th, I visited the congregations in Manatawny (Maxatawny), Magunchy (Ziegel), Egypt and near the Lehigh, a circuit of forty-five miles and came near to Bethlehem, a location of the Moravians and here in the providence of God, I met with Jacob Lischy, who was at that time attached to that sect. This man, although he had never before seen me, resolved to accompany me a distance of ten miles to Nazareth. When we got into conversation, this man very magnanimously manifested a hearty penitence and sorrow that he had suffered himself, with many other erring souls, to be bewitched by the crafty Brethren and to become entangled in the net of their soul destroying teachings and customs. This open-hearted acknowledgment

gave occasion to an extended and earnest conversation, in which I was fully persuaded of the honesty and sincerity of his intentions and of his firmly formed determination completely to separate himself from the Brethren and gladly return again into the bosom of the true Reformed Church. . . .

"In this region there are four or five small congregations, namely: Saccony, Forks of Delaware, Springfield and Lehigh, which would be able to contribute about thirty-three pounds, or 233 Dutch guilders for the support of a minister. Here, too there is a great need of an able minister, since Bethlehem, the sear of the Moravians is near to it." (Schlatter's *Life and Travels*, by Harbaugh, pp. 160-162.)

The Indian uprisings of 1755-58 threw the whole region into a state of confusion, arrested its development and retarded the progress of religion and education. Three small log churches were erected, at Jost Dreisbach's Mill, the oldest, at Indian Land, and in Moore township.

On the 25th of February, 1771, a large number of citizens from Allen, Moore and Lehigh townships met and decided to erect a union church of stone, 36 X 46 feet, at Indian Creek, along the King's Highway at the township line between Allen and Lehigh townships. Adam Dreisbach, Caspar Erb and Simon Dreisbach (Reformed), and Balentin Waldman, George Edelman and George Michael (Lutheran), were appointed a building committee. The church was dedicated, November 15, 1772, at which time Rev. John Henry Helfrich (Reformed) and Rev. Frederick (Lutheran) officiated. Rev. Helfrich one month later (December 15, 1772) administered the holy communion to the Reformed Congregation.

The sermons of Rev. Helfrich caused an awakening among the members, and kindled them with the hope, that their wishes might be realized in the establishment of a strong congregation in a more permanent building. This led their elder Simon Dreisbach, Jr., to address this letter to Rev. Helfrich.

LETTER OF SIMON DREISBACH, MEMBER OF THE INDIAN
CREEK CHURCH, ALLEN TOWNSHIP, NORTHAMPTON
COUNTY, TO THE REV. JOHN HENRY HELFFRICH,
JANUARY, 1773.

"REV. MR. HELFFRICH:¹

"First of all, my friendly greeting to you. I hope that your health is still good.

"After wishing you every good. I cannot forbear troubling you with these few lines and at the same time reminding you not to become remiss in the good beginning that was made to win souls. I am very desirous to know how soon you will come to us again and what other good results you have accomplished in our behalf, namely how we are to be supplied until the next meeting of Cœtus, whether any of the other ministers will visit us, and whether you have written to Mr. Fawer² (Faber), Mr. Blumer³ and Mr. Steiner⁴ and whether they have come to

¹ Rev. John Henry Helfrich was born at Morbach in the Palatinate, October 22, 1739. He studied at Heidelberg and was ordained in 1761. He and his half brother, Albert Helpenstein, were sent by the authorities in Holland to Pennsylvania in 1771. In 1772, he was stationed in Maxatawny, where he continued until the time of his death, December 5, 1810. He served as many as seven congregations at one time. It is recorded of him that "He was a fine scholar and an able preacher."

² Rev. John Theobald Faber was born in Palatinate, south of Bingen, February 13, 1739. He studied at Heidelberg, where he was ordained in 1763. He was sent by the Classis of Amsterdam to Pennsylvania in 1766 and immediately became the pastor of Goshenhoppen charge. With the exception of a short pastorate in Lancaster and Indian Field, he spent all his years in this charge and here he died, November 2, 1788.

³ Rev. Abraham Blumer, son of Rev. John Jacob Blumer, minister at Belswander and Grabs, was born at Grabs, Switzerland, December 14, 1736 O. S. He matriculated at the University of Basel, August 1, 1754, and was ordained to the holy ministry in 1756 and the following year was appointed chaplain of a Swiss regiment in the service of the king of Sardinia, in which capacity he continued for a period of nine years. He was sent to Pennsylvania by the authorities in Holland and landed at New York in the latter part of January, 1771. On February 17 of the same year, he took charge of the congregations at Egypt, Unionville, Jordan and Allentown. In addition to these he frequently supplied neighboring

an agreement among themselves, which we hope has taken place. We shall be much delighted to hear that they will alternately supply us, until we shall secure a minister. For the Gospel has now taken root in this region through the sermon which you preached if you will only not wait too long before you come again, that the fire may not die out again or that we may not be forgotten entirely as it has happened before. For if we should be neglected our enemy, a hireling, would rejoice exceedingly over it. He is always active to create confusion and to prevent any other minister from coming into this region, especially none of you (from the Cætus). Wherefore I shall give you a somewhat circumstantial report, yet as brief as I can do it.

"As I have been for a long time an onlooker on church affairs in this region, I cannot forbear mentioning some of the things in the hope that you will patiently hear me.

"About 17 years ago (1756), when I first came to live here, the church attendance, or divine services were very irregular, for hardly half of the time did the minister come when the services had been announced and the people had assembled, hence most of the time the people had to go home without a sermon, at which the people were much annoyed. At that time the people of this region knew nothing of the Cætus Ministers. Then it was decided to appeal to the Cætus for a minister, that, if one could be secured, and this evil (of the irregular services) could be done away with, the effort would not be in vain. This was done about 14 years ago (1759),

congregations. He was chaplain of the First Battalion of Northampton County, commanded by Col. Stephen Balliet in 1781. He resigned his charge in 1801 on account of old age and died, April 23, 1822. His remains were buried in the Jordan Reformed Cemetery.

* Rev. Conrad Steiner, Jr., came with his father, Rev. Conrad Steiner, Sr., to Pennsylvania in 1749, whither he was sent as a missionary, by the Deputies of Holland. Prior to 1771, Conrad, the younger, had been serving as school master and catechist. In 1771, he was suggested by Rev. Leydich as his successor in the congregation of Upper Milford and Salisbury. He was ordained in 1772 and died in 1782.

when my father (Simon Dreisbach⁵) and Johannes Ditter⁶ the elders, went with much trouble to Easton and Plainfield and Greenwich (Grunitsch), in order to induce said congregations to unite with us in asking for a minister. This was done and they went unitedly before the Cœtus.⁷ A minister was promised to us, as soon as one should come in (from Holland). Meanwhile Rev. Mr. Leydich⁸ and Rev. Michael⁹

⁵ Simon Dreisbach, Sr. (August 7, 1698–March 31, 1785) and family, natives of Oberndorf, Wittgenstein, Germany; qualified at Philadelphia, September 20, 1743. They settled in Northampton county, near Kreidersville. Two of his sons, Simon, Jr., and Jost, became prominent. A daughter, Catherine (1754–1825), was married to Henry Bowman; their son, John Dieter Bowman, was the grandfather of Bishop Thomas Bowman. His remains and those of many of his descendants lie buried at the Kreidersville (Stone) church.

⁶ John Deter, Sr., of Morestown (Moore Township), Northampton, in his will, dated May 12, 1772, leaves his property to his wife and nine children. His son John is named as executor and is witnessed by his wife, Elizabeth, John Egodius Hecker, Adam Marsch and Christian Lauffer.

⁷ A congregation at Easton, a newly settled village, about sixty miles from Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, has sent in a request for a suitable pastor and preacher. We have promised to make a call, with fifty pounds for his yearly support. Hence we herewith earnestly once more request the continuance of the paternal care of the Rev. Synods and Classis, so as to provide these shepherdless sheep as soon as possible with a godly minister. —*Minutes of Cœtus*, Germantown, October 21–22, 1760.

⁸ Rev. John Philip Leydich was born at Gerkhauser in Westphalia, April 28, 1715; landed at Philadelphia, September 15, 1748, being sent by the Synod of South Holland. He was installed as pastor of the congregation of Falkner Swamp and Providence and continued to serve them until the time of his death, January 4, 1784. He made frequent and extended journeys among the shepherdless congregations. He revived the congregation at Skippach, supplied the congregations of Upper Milford and Saltzburg in Lehigh county, crossed the Schuylkill River and preached to the Germans at Vincent and Coventry in Chester county.

⁹ Rev. Philip Jacob Michael was born 1716 in the Fatherland. He was a weaver by trade and began preaching without ordination in 1750. It is recorded of him "that the people heard him gladly" and that in 1764 he supplied "with the greatest zeal twelve congregations" in and about Maxatawny township. On May 17, 1777, he was appointed chaplain of the 1st Battalion of the Militia of Berks county. In 1780 he again resumed the duties of a pastor in Longswamp congregation. He died in the spring of 1786.

were to supply us until a minister¹⁰ should come in. Each of these congregations gave 12 pounds to the said ministers to come to us on a week-day, every three weeks for one year, which was done and our congregation got its share, until several ministers came in (Stapel 1761 and Weyberg 1762). Meanwhile a congregation was gathered on the Dryland and when Mr. Weinberg¹¹ (Weyberg) preached at Easton, Green-

¹⁰ "Simon Dreisbach, a delegated elder from the congregation in Easton, submitted a petition of said congregation concerning a minister. (The petition is annexed to the Minutes, under Number 1.) The Cetus was pleased to return a written answer to him, in which the congregation was notified that this matter had not only been laid before the proper authorities, but that also the Rev. Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland had considered the matter and had called Do. Weyberg for them. Until the arrival of the latter, they shall be served occasionally by the brethren of the Cetus."—*M. of C.*, June 30, 1762.

¹¹ Casper Diedrich Weyberg was born at Westofen, in the county of Mark, in Westphalia, Germany. He attended the Latin school at Freemonia-Dortmand and the university at Duisburg. He was examined and commissioned to go to Pennsylvania, September 8-9, 1761. After some delay he sailed and reached Easton, March 3, 1763. He is described as "a tall, slim man, with a powerful voice." On October 8, 1763, he accepted a call to Philadelphia. In a letter to the congregation at Easton, dated December 14, 1763, he says:

"As regards my congregations, they were well satisfied with me, nor was the divine blessing lacking in my work among you, since many were set right who had gone astray, as I am also convinced that many are walking on the way of the converted to God. Nevertheless my body could not stand riding about and I was therefore compelled to make the resolution to accept one congregation which alone would be able to support me. This desire has been fulfilled by the Philadelphia congregation."

Weyberg is said to have served as chaplain in the Revolution, and while the British were occupying Philadelphia, the Hessian soldiers thronged to hear him preach. He seized the opportunity and boldly asserted the American Cause, that many of them deserted. Weyberg was arrested by the English authorities and imprisoned. The Rev. Berg in his *Christian Landmarks*, pages 16-17, writes: "I have been assured by aged members of the church, that it used to be confidently affirmed that the Hessians would, in all probability, to a man have left the British service, if the old Father had not been silenced." He died, August 21, 1790, and was buried in the Reformed Cemetery, now Franklin Square, Philadelphia.

A delegated elder of a congregation on the Lechaw (Lehigh) requested that Cetus would persuade Do. Weyberg also to supply their church. Whereupon Do. Weyberg declared that he had already three churches, and

wich and Plainfield, he came several times to us. Afterwards they received the Dryland congregation (into the charge) but they abandoned us. Here we were excluded and forgotten until Rev. Gross¹² came. He supplied us the first two years after he came to this country, on a week-day, but when he had enough, he abandoned us utterly. That is the forgetting, of which I said that it took place before.

"What was the cause we know not, for certain, but it is possible that at that time we were too weak, and it was too far for them, it is now much easier to reach us and we are certainly much stronger, for we constitute now fully a quarter and even more, yet we gave our fourth part just like Easton and the rest. This angered the people very much and they turned again to their former minister, Hecker. But, we always aimed hence it would be very difficult to serve them also with the preaching of the Gospel. But he would gladly do what was reasonable and occasionally preach for them.—*M. of C.*, May 5-6, 1763.

¹² Rev. John Daniel Gross was born at Webenheim in Zweibruecken and was educated at Marburg and Heidelberg. He was sent to Pennsylvania, landing in Philadelphia, December 4, 1764. He was ordained by Cœtus in 1765 and installed in the Egypt charge. In 1769 he began to serve the congregation of Saucon and Springfield. In 1773 he accepted a call to Kingston, N. Y., and the following year to the Reformed congregation. In connection with his duties, he served as professor in Columbia University. He died May 27, 1812.

At Whitehall Do. Gross found 94 members in the one congregation (Egypt); from the middle of December to May baptized 7 children, received 13 members. In the other congregation (Schlosser's), there are 78 members; children baptized 8, received as members, 7. In the congregation across the Jordan there are 73 members; 7 children baptized; 5 members received. In the fourth congregation, Allentown, there are 83 members; children baptized 6; received as members, 4. In five other shepherdless congregations, Lecha (Lehigh), Plainfield, at Droogeland (Dryland), Greenwich, Lindau, he baptized 43 children, and found over 300 members.—*M. of C.*, May 8-9, 1765.

Do. Gross has four regular and two irregular congregations. At Allentown 34 families, 9 members received, 18 baptized; Egypt 31 families, 12 members received, 7 baptized; at Schlosser's 23 families, 9 members received, 9 baptized, and across the Jordan 17 families, 12 members received, 12 baptized.

The Tresebacher (Dreisbach) and Lynn congregations embrace about 30 families, whom he serves on weekdays.—*M. of C.*, September 3-4, 1766.

how to strengthen ourselves. Thus it has continued until now, nor could it be otherwise because there are three churches here in a district of five miles and since they were so close together, that they have always been weak until now when more Germans have settled in Allen township. Now we have united with them. We are in the centre of the above mentioned three congregations. Two of the other congregations have united with us and those of Allen¹³ township. This fills us with good hope, for it is the strongest congregation of these three and nothing is lacking but a good minister, who knows how to unite his people and who himself is a leader of his flock, so that the Gospel may take root and increase as I have stated above.

"Furthermore I must tell you that now everything depends upon how we shall be cared for. Because you have to use diligence and make some efforts in order that the congregation may not be spoiled again or be neglected. Now I shall relate to you the beginning of this church and congregation, but as briefly as I can, in order that you may know the conditions here.

"First of all, I must name the three congregations. There is the Inschen Land (Indian Land) congregation, which is located at the Blue Mountains, on the Lehigh. Then there is our congregation, on the Inschen Creek (Indian Creek), at Jost Dreisbach,¹⁴ in the centre and the strongest Reformed

¹³ Allen Township was originally settled by Scotch Irish, but the Germans, being better farmers, gradually supplanted them.

¹⁴ Jost Dreisbach, the eldest son of Simon Dreisbach, Sr., was born in Obendorf, in 1723. He resided at Howerville and was a miller by trade. During the Revolution he owned and operated two mills in Lehigh township. He was one of the first commissioners of Northampton county, and in 1756, the period of the Indian uprising, gave his excuse for non-attendance at court, "I must grind wheat for the forts." In 1774, he was a member of the "Committee of Observation" for Northampton county; in 1775, Captain of the Lehigh Company of Associators, and in October of the same year was appointed Colonel. On March 10, 1776, he was appointed Second Lieutenant in Mile's Rifle Regiment and was captured, August 27, 1776, but on February 22, 1777, he enlisted again in Baron Von Otterndorf's Light Infantry. He continued to serve the cause of Freedom until 1780. He died in 1794.

congregation and then there is the congregation in Moore township, where now Rev. Hecker¹⁵ still lives and preaches. The Indianland congregation has not more than eight or nine men (on the Reformed side) and these are almost half Lutheran. Even if they do their best, they cannot make up much (salary). Those of Moore township have more people, but they cannot make up even as much as those of Indianland. Then there is our old congregation which has also been unable to make up a large salary. From this it can be seen that these three congregations were too weak to keep up three churches and that they hardly make one good congregation. This we have known for a long time and both parties (denominations) always implored those of Moore township and those of Indianland to unite with us in our church, but it was never done until about two years ago, when the question was fully considered, especially because considerable number of Germans had settled in Allen township.

"Then they took counsel with some of the leading church

¹⁵ Rev. Johann Egidius Hecker and his twin brother Johann George was born January 26, 1726, in Dillenburg Massau. Their parents were Johann Wigand Hecker, equery, and his wife, Juliana. He studied theology at the University of Herborn. In 1751 he came to Pennsylvania and immediately began to supply vacant congregations. The following year (1752) he applied to the Cetus for examination and ordination, "so that hereafter he might go on laboring with honor and quietness of conscience." Cetus replied that they had no authority to examine or ordain him and that according to the instructions from Holland they were compelled to ask him to cease his ministrations. He however continued his pastoral activities first independently of Cetus and finally in opposition. He opened a record of baptisms, confirmations, marriages and burials at Tohickon, April 19, 1756, which continued until 1762. In addition to those of the Tohickon congregation he also records classes, confirmed at Heidelberg, Springfield, Saucon, in the Forcks near Easton, and Dryland. His name appears on the church register of the Upper Milford congregation in 1757. In 1762 he removed to Allen township and became the pastor of the three congregations of Indian Land, Indian Creek, and Moore township. Here, like in his previous field, his efforts seem to have met with little success; his health was failing and he is said to have died about 1774. According to the custom of the day he was buried within the chancel railing of the church. In 1873 the congregation erected a monument to his memory.

members in the three named congregations¹⁶ and for the first time our wish was fulfilled, that all should unite with those of Allen township to build a union church. I must mention some of these men. In the Indianland congregation there was Conrad Schneider,¹⁷ who lives now in Heidelberg, a schoolmaster. He was one of the first of the Indianland congregation (to agree to it), and he promised at once five pounds. But later when we had the whole congregation together to sign for it, he alienated the whole congregation again, after they had helped to buy the land for the Stone church, and after he had allowed himself to be elected architect, he caused the first confusion. Then there is Johannes Ditter, our old, above mentioned elder (Vorsteher), who gave his consent until we began to build, then he turned against us and that is still his position. Then some of Moore township, by the persuasion of Hecker, got the notion to build up their church again, but it is still uncertain.¹⁸

¹⁶ The Reverend Cetus was asked for a minister by three congregations on the Lehigh. These three congregations thus far had irregular teachers, and were in no connection with the Reverend Cetus; and because there is hope now that some good may be done among them by a regular minister, the Reverend Cetus deemed it well to help them. It granted their request by allowing them to extend a regular call to a minister of the Reverend Cetus. Until that time, they must be satisfied with the services of the neighboring ministers.—*M. of C.*, October 27–28, 1773.

¹⁷ "Conrad Schneider was schoolmaster and led the singing, but as he was no organist, he was requested to resign in 1786 and Jacob Strein became organist and schoolmaster." *History of Egypt*, p. 24.

¹⁸ On April 14, 1774, Paul Flick and William Beck, trustees, purchased sixty-six acres of land from John Schneider, "for the joint or separate exercise and performance of public worship according to the usual Rites and Mode in the Lutheran and Reformed Calvinist persuasion and the instruction of their children in useful literature."

Rev. Hecker was failing in health and soon died, and a new congregation, Big Moore township (Salem's), was organized (1772), several miles further east. This so weakened the congregation that worship was abandoned. But the school was continued and the members met annually to elect trustees and through them to engage a schoolteacher and to care for the church property. The school had a large patronage, the enrollment oc-

"Thus the beginning was made according to our desire, but then the enemy sowed more and more weeds among the wheat and now seeks to choke out the wheat, but thanks be to God that the congregation grows still and the church of God or the congregation is again rising and prospering under all this tempest of affliction, so that we are now able, if God be gracious to us to give us a regular minister, to give him a good salary; the people of Indianland see now that they have done wrong and those of Moore township do not know what they will do, because daily more are leaving them. For after you were here, several left them because they were touched by your sermon, although Hecker goes about daily trying to persuade people. He intends to hinder us at the Stone church, as much as he can, telling people that we would not get a minister from the Cetus, for he and another man would thwart us from getting a congregation together. He may succeed in the latter in one respect, for Pitthan¹⁹ (John William Pythan) keeps us away from the Dryland congregation, as long as they will keep him, for that is the strongest congregation in the Forks, without it we have none on this side of the river which would be suitable for us, that is a congregation which could make up as

casionally reached ninety. It was known as the college. In 1848 forty acres were sold for \$4,000 and the proceeds used in 1850 in the erection of the present edifice known as Emanuel's Union Church, Petersville, Northampton Co.

¹⁹ Two congregations, Plainfield and Greenwich, and also the larger part of the congregation in Easton, which was served by Mr. Pithan, but are now entirely separated from him on account of his scandalous and offensive life and conduct. Many members of the congregation in Easton being well satisfied with his ministry, and not caring what kind of life Mr. Pithan led, separated from the other party, accepted him as their minister, and thus supported him in his scandalous life. In addition to serving the party in Easton, he serves another congregation, Dryland. But the two congregations mentioned above, and also the larger part of the congregation at Easton, will not have anything at all to do with Mr. Pithan. The congregation at Dryland, which belongs to the three congregations, was informed by letter that if in future they had any dealings with Mr. Pithan, the Reverend Cetus would no longer regard them as a congregation of the Cetus.—*M. of C.*, October 9-10, 1771.

much as ours and is also so located that it could unite with us. Hence I said above that you would have to show diligence and care for our new congregation in order that the weak be raised up, the idolent be encouraged, the stubborn be softened, those of little faith be comforted and the cold hearted be warmed up, so that the word which has begun to take root may also gain in strength and finally bear fruit. This we confidently expect and live in hope, that you will put forth your best endeavors to supply us, by preaching for us alternately, namely you yourself and Mr. Fawer (Faher) and Mr. Blumer and Mr. Steiner. If you will take the trouble to write to the other three to consult together about this, we think that they should preach for us a least once every four weeks until the meeting of Cætus. We shall pay them amply for their services. If they will alternate it will hit none very frequently. If they are willing to supply us, it is better for them to agree among themselves, than for us to write to all the congregations which they serve. They can thereby save us much trouble.

"Mr. Blumer will come to preach here on the 17th of this month of January, now if you will write to Mr. Steiner to come the next time, four weeks later, and so forth, we shall know it and be governed by it as regards the Lutheran preachers.

"But enough for this time. I hope you will take nothing amiss in my letter. I have written a little more circumstantially so that you may understand more fully our condition and see how necessary it is to send good ministers to the Forks. May the Lord grant this to us in Jesus Christ, Amen. I am your servant ready to serve you and wishing your welfare.

"SIMON DREISBACH, JR."²⁰

A member of the Stone Church, in Allen township, living in Lehigh township, Northampton county. Dated January —, 1773.

²⁰ Simon Dreisbach, Jr., was born in Obendorf, Wittgenstein, February 18, 1730. He was a delegate from Northampton county to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia (July 15, 1776) and which ratified the Declaration of Independence. For four successive years (1776-1780), he represented the county in the State Assembly and also several years as

Since the preparation of the above the following document has been discovered

On November 6, 1772, it was further resolved by the undersigned on the Reformed side as follows:—

We, the undersigned hereby attest, that since we have united with Moore township and Allen township to erect a union church²¹ and since the church is now finished and we have abandoned the church at Jost Dreisbach's we deem it reasonable that we shall have no further use for the church vessels here, but desire to transfer them to the new Stone church. And that we hereby transfer and hand over the same to the Stone church at the township line between Lehigh and Allen townships, namely; the baptismal dish, the chalice, the table cloth and the collection bags (*glingel secklein*) to be devoted there to the same use.

Jost Dreisbach, Heinrich Strauss, Conrad Bachman, Simon Dreisbach, Adam Dreisbach, Christian Lauffer.

A true copy made by me, Simon Dreisbach, February 1, 1781.

NORTHAMPTON, PA.

commissioner to collect blankets and provisions for the Continental soldiers, and from May 2, 1777, to October 20, 1783, was a member of the Council of Censors. After the close of the war he again represented the county in several sessions of the State Assembly. He was married to Dorothea, a daughter of Peter Doesius, in 1752. This union was blessed with twelve children of whom three sons, John, Jacob and George, served in the Revolutionary army. His first wife died in 1773 and he was married a second time to Maria Kuder, a widow, the daughter of Conrad Fox. He died near Kreidersville, December 17, 1806.

²¹ In this document no mention is made of Indian Land. At a meeting held May 20, 1771, the Lutheran and Reformed Congregations of Indian Land decided not to assist in the erection of a church at Indian Creek (Stone church) but to jointly erect a church at Indian Land, and also agreed to assist one another in the support of a pastor. Jacob Buchman and George Leibenguth (Reformed) and Bernhard Kuntz and Peter Anthony (Lutherans) were appointed a building committee, and Johann Dorn and Nicholas Schneider (Reformed) and Christopel Feigner and Jacob Keppel (Lutheran) were elected elders. The corner stone was laid in the spring of 1772 and on the 8th of November of the same year, the church, a log structure, was dedicated, at which time Rev. Christian Streit (Lutheran) and Rev. Johann Wilhelm Pithan (Reformed) officiated.

VI.

THE ETHICS OF THE DIVINE COMEDY.

JOHN LOVE BARNHART.

In writing the *Divine Comedy* Dante's purpose was avowedly ethical. In his letter to Can Grande, in which he gives the key to the interpretation of his immortal poem, Dante says: "The subject, then, of the whole work, taken according to the letter alone, is simply a consideration of the state of souls after death. . . . But if the work is considered according to its allegorical meaning [and this to the author was the real meaning] the subject is man, liable to the reward or punishment of Justice, according as through the freedom of the will he is deserving or undeserving."¹ "It can be briefly stated that the aim of the whole and of the part is to remove those living in this life from a state of misery and to guide them to a state of happiness. Now the kind of philosophy under which we proceed in the whole and in the part is moral philosophy or ethics; because the whole was undertaken not for speculation but for practice."²

While the *Divine Comedy* is far from being an abstract treatise on morality, under an inexhaustible wealth of imagery that is unsurpassed in vividness and forcefulness we find great moral truths of lasting benefit to mankind. Dante was not only one of the most gifted of all poets, but at the same time a master of ethical wisdom who deserves to rank as the first of moral poets. In all literature there is not a more nearly perfect work of art than this "miracle of song," yet it is art for life's sake. So marvelous were the genius and skill of the poet

¹ Dante's *Eleven Letters*, translated by Chas. S. Latham, p. 195.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

that the beauty and grandeur of the poem were not sacrificed in the carrying out of his didactic purpose.

The *Divine Comedy*, while mediaeval in its setting, is one of the very few universal books and has perennial significance. Here we are brought face to face with the universal problems of human experience that are fundamentally the same for all ages. The world in its outward aspects may change, old theories and doctrines give place to new, the sum of knowledge be increased, yet human nature remains essentially the same, and to the end of time must meet substantially the same grave questions concerning right and wrong. In his allegory of human life the Tuscan poet rises sufficiently above the limitations of his time to teach many moral truths that are as applicable to-day as they were six hundred years ago. The name Dante, a contraction from Durante, meaning enduring, permanent, was prophetic of his wonderful poem. Carlyle suggests that the *Divine Comedy* may be the most enduring thing Europe has yet produced.

In his *History of Ethics within Organized Christianity*, Professor Thomas C. Hall disposes of Dante by tersely saying: "Dante in Italy sang the scholasticism of Thomas of Aquinas in the entrancing strains of a native Italian, and mingled with mediæval Aristotelianism something of Cicero's ethics."³ To Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle and Cicero, in the order given, was Dante indebted more than to any others for the principles underlying his ethical teachings, but he did not slavishly follow any one of them. As the most learned man of his day who was indeed a marvel for his encyclopædic knowledge, he drew from various sources of moral wisdom, but he did more than put in poetic form the thoughts of other persons. He chose what he wanted from the material at hand, worked it over, and added to it. The *Divine Comedy* not only reveals the "terrible earnestness" of the author, but also his profound ethical insight and his originality as a moralist.

The fact that this poem is auto-biographic, is the history of

³ P. 369.

a soul struggling from sin through suffering and purification to the peace of heaven, adds to its human interest and makes it more easily understood. Dante, "a Florentine by birth, but not in morals," the idol of his pure, intense chivalric love for Beatrice shattered, in vain having sought consolation in philosophy, unjustly exiled through political intrigue from his native city nevermore to return, became, as he himself said, a wanderer, almost a beggar, "a ship without sail and without helm, drifted upon diverse ports and straits and shores by the dry wind that grievous poverty exhales."⁴ Rebuffs from without and misgivings within he endeavored "to solve the problem of his own life, to find intellectual and moral salvation."

In solving this problem, living as he did at a time when people who were religiously inclined had an overwhelming sense of eternity and emphasized other-worldiness, Dante tried to see the things of time under the aspect of eternity, to see the results of sin and virtue in their ultimate effects on the soul. Basing his whole ethical system on the freedom of the will, he shows by taking up one person after another, each one as the representative of some sin or virtue, what they eventually bring upon themselves.

Finding himself in the dark forest where the right way is lost Dante sees before him the Delectable Mountain which he desires to ascend, but as he endeavors to do so he is confronted with a leopard, a lion and a she-wolf, representing the sins of Incontinence, Violence and Fraud which must be overcome if the heights of the Mount of Virtue are to be reached. In order to deliver him from the seductions and errors of the world, Virgil at the instance of Beatrice leads Dante through hell that he may see that sin is worse than folly and realize what awful penalties it brings. Then is he conducted through purgatory that he may see how the penitent sinner may be purified, and finally into heaven that he may know of the bliss of those who are in the very presence of God. Virgil who typifies human reason is superseded as guide by Beatrice and

⁴ *Convivio* I, iii.

she in turn by Saint Bernard, both of whom are symbolic of revealed truth.

In the *Divine Comedy* in a most striking manner is brought home to us the truth that what a man does reacts on himself, that if he does wrong he injures himself and that if he does right he reaps the benefit of his righteous acts. "The soul creates the atmosphere in which it lives, and builds for itself a mansion or a dungeon according as its deeds are good or evil."⁵

To Dante evil was evil and good good, the two being polar opposites, the difference very decided and forever fixed. All worldly distinctions disappear. In the *Inferno* he strips evil of all its masks that it may be seen in its real nature, in all its hideousness.

"How many are esteemed great kings up there
Who here shall be like unto swine in mire,
Leaving behind them horrible dispraises!"⁶

Towards evil it is impossible to be neutral. The first sad company met with inside the gate the inscription on which sounds like the tolling of a funeral bell are the non-committals, the ones who have taken no definite stand either for good or evil. With scathing sarcasm the author speaks of these irresolute, indifferent ones, who drifted through life the easiest way, who "never were alive." James Russell Lowell had the same class of people in mind when he wrote:

"God hates your sneakin' creturs that believe
He'll settle things they run away an' leave."⁷

His threefold division of sins in the *Inferno* into Incontinence, Violence and Fraud Dante derived from Aristotle and Cicero. Instead of following Aristotle's classification as a whole which is Vice, Incontinence and Brutality,⁸ Dante omits

⁵ *Teachings of Dante*, by C. A. Dinsmore, p. 91.

⁶ Longfellow's *Inf.*, VIII, 49-51.

⁷ *Biglow Papers*, VI.

⁸ *Vide Nichomachean Ethics*, VII, i.

Brutality or Bestiality, and, as Dr. Edward Moore shows^o borrows from Cicero the distinction between crimes of Violence and those of Fraud, the latter being much worse because they are due to a perversion of reason.

The lower the descent into hell the more heinous the sins and the more severe the punishments. In the upper circles are the incontinent, or the sensual, those who failed to restrain their appetites and passions, as the wantons, the gluttons, etc. Further down in the infernal regions, in the city of Dis, are those who have committed sins of Violence, sins of vicious habits, who have done wrong against their neighbors, themselves and against God. Still lower in the scale of iniquity, in the third and most horrible part of hell are those who have been guilty of Fraud and Treachery. In the lowest depths is Satan himself. As sin estranges from God the evil one, in Dante's conception of the material universe, is even locally as far as possible away from God.

The punishment is not arbitrarily inflicted in an external way, but such as the sinner has brought upon himself. Dante follows the principle laid down in Wisdom of Solomon, XI. 16, "Wherewithal a man sinneth, by the same also shall he be punished." By his sins and not for them is man punished. Hell is to live in the evil character one has created for oneself and to suffer its consequences.

One of the most remarkable things about the Inferno is the congruence of sins and punishments. The penalty naturally grows out of the sin. Different kinds of sinners suffer in different ways and in ways most appropriate for them. For instance, those who have yielded to their passions, the carnal sinners are in the darkness hurled about by a mighty hurricane. (Here is also reflected the sinner's state of mind when the sins were committed.) The wrathful smite and mangle one another. The murderers are in a river of boiling blood. The suicides are deprived of their bodies. The flatterers are sub-

^o *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, pp. 157-60.

merged in sickening ordure. The hypocrites are painted, wearing gilded cloaks heavy as lead, wearisome mantles for eternity. The thieves who plied their sneaking trade changing disguises are turned from human to reptilian form. The schismatics are themselves rent asunder. Some of the worst sinners are in arctic cold, frozen in ice, because sin is paralyzing.

Dante localized hell, but as he at the same time taught that it is an environment the soul brings upon itself it was in his conception more of a state or condition of the soul than a place. Sin in its development is hell. As long as a person is dominated by evil he can say, "What matter where, if I be still the same,"¹⁰ and, "Which way I fly is hell: myself am hell."¹¹ Marlowe in *Faustus* said:

"Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed
In one self place; for where we are is hell,
And where hell is there we must ever be."

We know as much, or perhaps it were better to say, we know as little about the future hell as did Dante, but taken in a moral sense his teachings come to us in this twentieth century with tremendous force. Here is a message of vast import for those in our day who make light of sin and trifle with it. People may question the existence of a future hell, but they can have no doubt about the hell that some persons make for themselves in this present life. Many a one has experiences as torturing as Margarete in Goethe's *Faust*. Led astray, betrayed, an unintentional accomplice in the death of her mother, indirectly the cause of the death of her brother, in deep disgrace, in intense agony, she exclaims: "Welche Höllenpein!" Of the men involved in the looting of the state treasury in connection with the erection of the new capitol building in recent years in one of our eastern states, nine, according to the reports of the daily press, came prematurely

¹⁰ *Paradise Lost*, I, 256.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 75.

to their graves soon after the exposure of the crime, one by suicide, and the others because they could not bear up under the ignominy. In addition to these one became insane. From an editorial which appeared in *The Outlook*, July 12, 1913, we quote the following: "There is a great deal of flippant talk about the abolition of hell. It seems to be the impression of many people that the possibility of suffering, symbolized by a material place of torment, has been eliminated from human life. As a matter of fact, hell, in the sense of inevitable and unmistakable punishment, is to-day far more a reality than it has ever been before. Whatever may be the sufferings through which men must go in the future in order to be purged of impurity, there is no question about the sufferings which they undergo in this present life. The answer of the man who was asked if he believed in hell, 'I do not believe in it; I know it because I am in it,' is a terse statement of what may be called the modern view of punishment for sin." No, Dante was not the only one of whom it could be said, "There goes the man who has been in hell."

But whether or not hell is eternal in the sense Dante believed it to be is another question. Dr. Philip Schaff once said: "The doctrine of eternal punishment is the most awful that can be conceived of. The more we think of it the more we shrink from it, and the more we desire to escape from it."¹² It was easier for Dante and his contemporaries who emphasized the kingship of God and divine justice to accept this doctrine than it is for us who have come to think of God as love. Since it is the nature of sin, lust, hate, malice, wrath, fraud, to be self-destructive, how can it last forever? Is it too much to say that God is eternal because He is love, and that only what is associated with love can be eternal?

Is there no such thing as repentance in hell and therefore an escape from its torments? Not in Dante's hell for all there are rebellious. Instead of acknowledging that they were in the least to blame for their condition,

¹² *Literature and Poetry*, p. 376.

"God they blasphemed and their progenitors,
The human race, the place, the time, the seed
Of their engendering and of their birth!"¹³

The more bitter and the more hard-hearted they become the longer they suffer. There is no remorse, no signs of sorrow for sins committed. So Dante is consistent when he places as a part of the inscription over the gate of hell: "All hope abandon, ye who enter in."

We are accustomed to thinking that much and perhaps most suffering for wrong doing is caused by pangs of conscience, by a sense of guilt. Shakespeare discloses no worse hell into which the wicked plunge themselves than the scourgings of an outraged conscience. Macbeth and Lady Macbeth are haunted night and day by the crimes which they cannot wash from their blood-stained hands. The conscience of Claudius, king of Denmark, is so torturing that he cannot witness the play to the end. Richard III, his crimes threatening him with dire vengeance, cries out:

"My conscience has a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain."

There is hope for such as these, but the persons in Dante's hell are beyond remorse, the conflict between sin and righteousness is past and they are entirely in the domain of evil. In these modern times, however, we are not so quick to say that persons can get so deep in sin that a moral change for the better is impossible.

As a good churchman of his time Dante believed in and strongly defended the papacy, but he dealt with the individual popes with the same stern impartiality that he dealt with all other persons. Their office did not save them from suffering for their evil deeds. Dante in his journey through hell found several of them there, and the then reigning pope was soon expected to reach that woeful place. Sins forgiven other persons

¹³ Longfellow's *Inf.*, III, 103-05.

by popes are not really forgiven unless those persons truly repent. Guido da Montefeltro was by the pope promised absolution for his fraudulent council only to learn in hell that he

“Who repents not cannot be absolved,
Nor can one both repent and will [to commit sin] at once,
Because of the contradiction which consents not.”¹⁴

Even popes must conform to the same high moral standard as others. Manfred, king of Sicily, died excommunicated, but was not among the lost.

In passing from the Inferno to the Purgatorio where Dante sings “of that second realm where the human spirit is purified, and becomes worthy to ascend to heaven,” there is a very noticeable change in the tone and spirit of the poem. While the descent into the dark pit is a picture of moral degeneration the ascent through purgatory is the vision of moral redemption and emancipation. In the first realm there is increasing gloom, here there is increasing light. The people in the infernal regions are characterized by selfishness and rebelliousness, those in purgatory by a desire to get rid of sin and attain salvation. Here the punishment is not penal but purifying; neither is it degrading but suitable for the improvement of the sinner.

This more than any other part of the trilogy corresponds to the present actual life, and is nearer to our own experience. “Our life here is not a heaven of realization, nor a hell of failure and death, but a purgatory of endless climbing.” In giving his conceptions of how persons get rid of sin and are made perfect through suffering Dante treats subjects that are of vital concern to us all.

Our author believed that no one can be saved apart from Christ. As a consistent churchman of his time he consigned to hell, though he did so reluctantly, all unbaptized persons, even children, and adults who lived virtuously but without faith in Christ.

¹⁴ *Inf.*, XXVII, 118-20.

As Dante comes to purgatory he sees four stars which typify prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice, the four cardinal virtues which are sufficient to start men in the right way but not to bring them into the kingdom of God. As the law was a school-master to lead to Christ so the practice of the cardinal virtues was a preparation for the higher Christian morality the chief virtues of which are faith, hope and charity without which heaven cannot be attained. Virgil, referring to limbo, the place of his eternal abode said:

"There dwell I among those who the three saintly
Virtues did not put on, and without vice
The others knew and followed all of them." ¹⁵

In accordance with the teachings of the Church Dante believed that good works as well as faith are necessary to prepare for the realm celestial. For the formation of a strong character he was right in emphasizing good works, personal effort, as well as faith. Who does not feel, for instance, that what such a person as Belacqua "who seemed to me weary, was seated, and was clasping his knees, holding his face down between them," ¹⁶ "more indolent than if sloth were his sister," so lazy, so overcome by his wonted mood that he scarcely raised his head in speaking,—who does not feel that what such a one needs is the discipline of a strenuous life, of vigorous personal effort? So with the person who has sinned. Besides the mercy and grace of God he needs the moral stamina which comes through earnest endeavor.

As Dante passes through purgatory many ask him to pray for them or request him to ask their friends to pray for them. The poet is in danger of being thus detained in his journey. Virgil says to him: "Do thou still go on, and in going listen." ¹⁷ Keep on climbing, but listen to these requests while you proceed. He must not stop to do for others what they should do for themselves. He is to keep on climbing and as

¹⁵ *Purgatorio*, VII, 34-36.

¹⁶ Norton's *Purgatory*, IV, 106-09.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 45.

he goes lend a hand to those who are helping themselves. Edward Howard Griggs calls this the high water mark of mediæval ethics.

The nearer one reaches the top of the mount of purification the easier is the ascent. The longer one does the right the less difficult it is to do it.

Dante's conception of purgatory differs in some important respects from the popular idea of the Middle Ages and from the teachings and practices of the Roman Church. His teachings are on a higher plain. He recognizes the twofold purpose of purgatory: (1) the purifying of the soul from the stains of sin and the subduing of self so that the will is in harmony with God, and (2) the making of satisfaction by suffering for sins committed, by the payment of temporal penalty. But contrary to the teachings of Thomas Aquinas and the Church of his day he persistently lays stress on purification. The Church made much of indulgences at that time, but Dante does not refer to them except to protest against them.

An important part of the process by which a soul becomes purified is shown in canto IX. The three steps there described that are to be ascended symbolize the three successive steps in penance. The first of white and polished marble is symbolic of sincere confession, the second of a dark purple, rough scorched stone, cracked lengthwise and athwart symbolizes contrition, and the third of porphyry as flaming red as blood, according to Dr. Edward Moore, burning love.¹⁸ According to the Roman Church the three steps are confession, contrition and satisfaction, and some scholars interpret the flaming blood-red porphyry as symbolic of satisfaction. However that may be interpreted Dante emphasizes the inward condition of the heart more than the outward acts. With him the question is not, How much sin has the sinner committed and how much vindictive punishment must he endure; rather is it, What evil is still in his heart and how can he get rid of it and its ill

¹⁸ Vide *Studies in Dante*, Second Series, p. 47.

effects, for the pardon of sins does not mean the remission of consequences.

As Dante ascends these steps he smites upon his breast three times in penitence for sins in thought, in word and in deed, and seven P's are inscribed upon his forehead. The seven P's (Peccata) signify the seven mortal sins, or rather the bad dispositions out of which they spring, which must be purged away. These are pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony and lust. This classification Dante adopted from such writers as Bonaventura and Brunetto Latini and not from Thomas Aquinas whose was the same except that he placed avarice before sloth.

There has been much discussion about the classification of sins in the *Inferno* in comparison with that in the *Purgatorio*. Both are much alike and yet are not the same. Both resemble each other in this respect that the sins increase in gravity the lower down they are. At the same time there are marked differences. In the *Inferno* pride, envy and sloth do not appear. (Some commentators claim they are there in disguise.) In *Purgatorio* more than half the sins of the *Inferno*, those that are the worst, are not mentioned.

Dante probably never intended the two classifications to be the same. For practical purposes in connection with indulgences and penances the Church had made a classification of sins in purgatory and this our author followed. But no such classification had been made of the sins in hell, and there Dante was free to follow his own inclinations and judgment.

In the *Purgatorio* the forms of suffering or punishment are those which are most suitable for corrective discipline, and appropriate subjects are presented for meditation. The proud are bowed down under heavy weights. The envious have their eyes closed and habitually speak well of others. The wrathful are in gloom and smoke. The slothful, "moving at a run," are in continual restless motion. The avaricious are prostrated on the earth with face downward, sighing and weeping. The gluttonous are emaciated and have constant hunger and thirst.

The lustful are burning in fire purging away their iniquity. And all seven classes of penitents have brought to their attention instances which show the folly and the heinousness of the particular sin from which they are being cleansed and then examples which show the excellence of the opposite virtue they are to cultivate. All are submissive and willingly endure their suffering that they may as soon as possible be purified. The slothful in their quick movements do not wish to pause to converse with Dante. The lustful are careful not to come out where they will not be burned.

As Dante ascends from one ledge of the mount of purgatory to another and is cleansed from the seven mortal sins the P's by which they were represented are removed from his brow. After all have disappeared and he is about to enter paradise Virgil says to him: "Free upright, and sound is thine own will, and it would be wrong not to act according to its choice; wherefore thee over thyself I crown and mitre."¹⁹ Now that he has become morally pure he is master of himself. Liberty which has been his quest is at last found. It is not a gift, but an achievement; it is at the summit and not at the base of the mountain, and is attained by the subduing of self through toil and conflict and suffering.

The freeing of the soul from each type of sin is celebrated by a song, the singing of a beatitude, the last one being, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." All are free from jealousy and rejoice in the progress of others. Whenever a penitent finishes one stage of his discipline and ascends to a better and larger life the whole mountain trembles in sympathetic joy and all in thanksgiving join in singing, "Gloria in Excelsis Deo."

In the *Paradiso*, which is preëminently the poem of light, of music and of motion, and which Shelley has called "a perpetual hymn of everlasting love," our author tells how, after his purification, he mounts upward to the highest heaven where he beholds the heavenly host in the form of a pure white rose

¹⁹ Norton's *Purgatorio*, XXVII, 140-43.

and in the beatific vision is even permitted to have a glimpse through His effulgence of the First Love, the Eternal Light. In describing the different heavens through which he passes he endeavors to give some conception of the realm celestial, but his chief object is to show the beauty of holiness, to reveal the blessedness of the righteous, to portray the spiritual life in its perfection. In his inability to do this to his satisfaction he exclaims: "O joy! O ineffable gladness! O life entire of love and of peace! O riches secure, without longing!"²⁰

As this man "who breathes the mysterious air of the eternal world" ascends from one heaven to another he converses with the persons whom he meets about their conditions and surroundings, and also about the practical affairs of the life of men on earth. Even here he is not so much taken up with "other-worldliness" that he forgets the needs of the present world, but repeatedly gives expression to ethical truths that are meant to be helpful in daily life. For instance, he discourses about the making and keeping of vows. He calls attention to the pettiness of many worldly ambitions when looked upon from the heights above. In the *Paradiso* (Cantos XXVII and XXIX), are his strongest passages against the abuses of the papacy and the evil practices of the priests.

When Dante inquires how it is possible for those in the lower heavens to be content when there are higher heavens yet unattained, he receives as an answer, "His will is our peace." As long as it was God's will that they should be in that place they were satisfied. To us life means endless growth, a growth which continues in eternity as well as in this life. Unless a soul has undergone some miraculous change, has been fixed by divine alchemy, we in our day cannot understand how it can stop growing and advancing and still be contented.

Dante accepts the mediæval idea of the superiority of the contemplative to the active life. The former was believed to be better than the latter for the reason that, "The contemplative life directly and immediately appertains to the love of

²⁰ Norton's *Paradiso*, XXVII, 7-9.

God, whereas the active life is more directly ordered to the love of our neighbor."²¹ But to the contemplative life man cannot attain unless he has first passed through the active life. Those who passed into the contemplative are the ones who are nearest God. Such teachings are ascetical, and, of course, contrary to our present day beliefs. But do we not often go to the other extreme, lay too much stress on activity and devote too small a portion of our time to meditation?

Besides being too ascetic the Ethics of the Divine Comedy is legalistic rather than evangelical. Another criticism is that Dante's ethics is too individualistic. The mediæval world was stationary. The existing order of things was taken as a matter of course. Little thought was given to the improvement of social environments. Like others of his time Dante was not thinking how social conditions could be improved, but how individuals could become better and gain entrance into the heavenly kingdom.

Because Dante manifested a strong dislike for things unreal and mechanical in religion, attached much importance to the inner, spiritual life, and opposed the temporal power of the papacy and denounced its abuses, he has been called the first great Reformer. That is not the best way to designate him, but it can be said that he was the greatest moral and religious teacher of his time and one of the greatest of all time, and the prophet of a higher and more ethical form of Christianity.

BALTIMORE, MD.

²¹ Aquinas Ethicus, translated from the second part of the *Summa Theologica*, Jos. Rickaby, Vol. II, p. 388.

VII.

PHILIP SCHAFF, PROPHET AND PIONEER OF CHRISTIAN UNITY AND THE MANIFEST- TATION OF UNITY.¹

RUFUS W. MILLER.

A special meeting of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church, formerly German Reformed, held at Lebanon, Pa., in January, 1843, appointed the Rev. Dr. Hoffeditz, of German birth and as polite as a courtier, and the Rev. Dr. Schneck, a fine specimen of a native American German, a committee to proceed to Germany to secure a theological professor. They called at the study of a young man who shortly before had entered upon his work as an instructor in the theological faculty of Berlin. The committee informed this young man that the theological professors of Halle and Berlin, especially Tholuck, Julius Müller and Neander had unanimously directed them to him as a suitable person to fill the German professorship in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, then located at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania.

The mission of this committee excited considerable attention by its novelty and because of the prospect which it seemed to open, of the transplantation of German theology to America. King Frederick William IV. invited the delegates to the palace, approved of their choice and showed his practical interest by a liberal gift of \$1,500.

¹ Acknowledgment is herewith made of material and statements from the leaflets of the Christian Unity Foundation, *The Reunion of Christendom*, by Dr. Philip Schaff; addresses and articles by Robert E. Speer, Bishop Anderson, Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Dean Shailer Mathews, Dr. H. K. Carroll; articles in the *Constructive Quarterly*, *The Life of Philip Schaff*, by David S. Schaff, D.D., etc.

It may be well to remember that the House of Hohenzollern is originally German Reformed and still uses the Heidelberg Catechism, though strictly devoted to the Evangelical Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions since the Third Centennial of the German Reformation.

The young professor, Rev. Philip Schaff, in December, 1843, received the official call and in the spring of 1844 left Berlin, and, after spending seven weeks in London and Oxford, making the personal acquaintance of the leaders of the Tractarian Movement and the leaders of the Broad Church School, sailed for America.

In October of that year, he delivered his inaugural address in the First Reformed Church, Reading, Pa., on the "Principle of Protestantism." It was a vindication of the Reformation on the theory of progressive historical development, which was then regarded as dangerous but is now very generally accepted.

Dr. Schaff spent twenty years in the institutions of the Reformed Church. In 1864 he removed to New York, became secretary of the New York Sabbath Committee, serving until 1870. From 1869 until his death, he was closely identified with Union Theological Seminary, occupying the chairs at various times, of theology, biblical exegesis, biblical language and of church history.

It is significant that the immediate cause of his death, October 20, 1893, was his journey to the Parliament of Religions where, on September 22, he said:

"I was warned by physicians and friends not to come to Chicago. They said it might kill me, but I was determined to bear my last dying testimony to the cause of Christian Union in which I have been interested all my life. As sure as God is God and as sure as Christ is 'The Way, the Truth and the Life,' his word shall be fulfilled and there will be one flock and one shepherd."

It may be well to quote from a few of the congratulatory addresses give to Dr. Philip Schaff on the occasion of his

fiftieth anniversary as a teacher, in 1892. They set forth, comprehensively, his work as a theological mediator, uniter of Christians, prophet and pioneer of unity. The theological faculty of the University of Berlin wrote:

"Like Martin Bucer, who three hundred years before you had crossed over to England to carry thither the light of German theological science, you went over to the New World to sow there the seeds of the same culture, and thus became, through your tireless and richly blessed work, the Theological Mediator between the East and the West. If to-day the famous Theological Seminaries in the United States have become nurseries of theological science, so that the old world no longer gives to them alone, but receives from them instruction in turn, this is owing chiefly to your activity.

"You have introduced into your new Fatherland in English translations an array of valuable and weighty works in German theology, thus naturalizing there that science and causing it to be appreciated.

"This, however, forms but a small part of your great and fruitful work. You have advanced the science of Theology by works both in German and English, particularly by your great works, the *History of the Apostolic Church*, the *History of the Christian Church* and the *Bibliotheca Symbolica Ecclesiae Universalis* (*The Creeds of Christendom*), together with numerous treatises on subjects pertaining to church history, which are the fruits of your independent studies. Your *Church History* in particular has taken a most honorable rank among the church histories of the day, by virtue of the thoroughness of its execution and the clearness of its style. It is the most notable monument of universal historical learning produced by the School of Neander.

"In addition to this, and thereby resembling the great Mediator between the Greek and the Latin Church in the past, you have shown the most lively interest in both the original text of the New Testament and its translation into English. Your *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*

has become a very useful hand-book. And as president of the American Bible Revision Committee in coöperation with the English Committee, you have played a most prominent part in bringing that great work to a happy conclusion.

"But, like Jerome, your aim was not to introduce into one country the theological conflicts of another, nor to draw party lines of doctrine as strictly as possible, but, on the contrary, you have ever made it your task to promote reconciliation, to draw together the various parties in the Church, and everywhere to bring about 'The speaking of the truth in love.'

"If the signs of the times do not deceive us, your work in this regard also has been crowned with special blessings. The various Evangelical denominations of your new home are indeed drawing nearer to one another, and their ecclesiastical and scholarly emulation no longer minister to strife, but to mutual recognition and coöperation."

The faculty and board of directors of Union Theological Seminary, New York, said among other things:

"In the great department which you now represent in this institution—that of church history—it is gratifying to us to know that your work is recognized, appreciated and respected on both sides of the Atlantic. In your numerous contributions to biblical exegesis, you have contemplated not only the needs of the professional student, but also those of the layman; so that your commentaries have a place at the fireside as well as in the minister's library. While you have expounded the *creeds of Christendom* for maturer minds, you have made *catechisms* for the children. You have prepared manuals of holy song for the sanctuary and hymnals for the little ones. Through at least six translations from the original you have vindicated the claims of the divine power of our Lord and Saviour in Germany, France, Holland, Greece, Russia and Japan. You have made the Church acquainted with the biographies of saintly men and of Christian scholars, and have illustrated and rendered available the writings of the *Christian Fathers*. The great work of Bible revision is largely indebted

to your labor. You have wrought for a better understanding and a closer union among the sects of Christendom, and for the preservation and promotion of the observance of the Lord's Day, especially among our vast German population."

And Chancellor MacCracken of the University of New York, well said:

"From the beginning of your career as a teacher, fifty years ago, in Berlin, to this hour, you have been her loyal son, her faithful steward, bringing from the treasury of history and the Bible things new and old, making every Christian denomination and minister the richer and happier through the treasures which you have amassed, and which you have scattered in tens of thousands of pages with liberal hand. While independent, and even daring in your theology and philosophy, you have so combined the sweetness of manner with courage of soul that you are to-day beloved by conservative and progressive alike."

And in the greeting from Yale University the statement is properly made:

"During all this period you have been engaged in bringing into closer mutual acquaintance the scholars of Europe and America. We are glad to recognize the Catholic spirit and kindly temper which have marked your literary career."

The Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church gave welcome and greeting when Dr. Schaff attended the meeting at Lancaster, Pa., October 24, 1892, and said, among other things, in the report of the special committee, Rev. Dr. Thomas G. Apple, chairman:

"Dr. Schaff needs no introduction to this body. For nearly a quarter of a century he occupied the chair of church history in the Theological Seminary under the care of this Synod, and along with Rauch and Nevin contributed so much in developing the life and genius of our Reformed Church. Although for years he has been partially separated from us, yet we have followed with deep interest and laudable pride his career in the great work he has accomplished by his distinguished talents

and arduous labors for the entire Christian Church, both in Europe and America, until he stands to-day, in the front of Church historians since the days of the great Neander, with whom in his early life he was associated as professor."

The larger part of the practical labors of Dr. Schaff, including fourteen trips abroad, was in connection with the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, of which he was the foremost spirit, and in promoting the Alliance of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, which organization was the pioneer and pattern for the Pan-Methodist Conference, The International Congress of Congregationalists and other family, denominational gatherings.

These have been the necessary forerunners without which the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America could not have come into being.

Dr. Schaff also attended the Old Catholic Union and Conference at Bonn in 1875 where agreement was urged upon a doctrinal basis of fourteen articles and the settlement of the filioque controversy, by some of the ablest and most learned dignitaries of the Old Catholic, the Orthodox Greek and Russian and the Anglican Churches. These important conclusions of the Bonn Conference have not been officially ratified by any of the Eastern or Anglican Churches but may be revived or acted upon at some future time.

Dr. Schaff dealt with the subject of Christian Unity often in essay, in address at home and abroad. A number of these papers are included in his book, *Christ and Christianity*. Perhaps the most remarkable document that has yet appeared from the standpoint of wealth of historical learning, clearness of statement, the spirit of love and prophetic vision, on the subject of Christian unity, is Dr. Schaff's paper on the "Reunion of Christendom," prepared for the Parliament of Religions and the National Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, held in Chicago, September and October, 1893. It is not possible here to give more than a brief résumé of this paper, which was characterized by Dr. Henry Jessup of Beirut, as "Apostolic.

One of the most Christ-like utterances in all church history." His hope was to present clearly and faithfully the lessons of history rather than any personal views on the great problem of the "Reunion of Christendom" on the basis of Christ, His Gospel of Love and Peace. I am indebted to Dr. David Schley Schaff, in his biography of his father, for the summarizing of this paper. After expressing the conviction that ultimately God will unite all his children in one flock and under one shepherd, he took up the different kinds of Christian union and pronounced the union demanded by the Pope, upon the basis of submission to him, an impossibility.

"He then urged confederate union between allied Protestant communions. As for the Chicago-Lambeth proposals, so called, he declared the 'historic episcopate' an insuperable stumbling-block to all non-Episcopalians, which will never be conceded by them as a condition of church unity if it is understood to mean the necessity of three orders of the ministry and of episcopal ordination in unbroken historic succession. Christ says nothing about bishops any more than about patriarchs and popes, and does not prescribe any particular form of church government. . . . 'Let us learn something from history. All respect for the historic episcopate. It goes back in unbroken lines almost to the beginning of the second century, and no one can dispute its historical necessity or measure of usefulness. But God has also signally blessed the Lutheran, the Presbyterian and the Congregational ministry for many generations, with every prospect of growing usefulness for the future; and what God has blessed no man should lightly esteem. The non-Episcopal churches will never unchurch themselves, and will only negotiate on the basis of equality and a recognition of the validity of their ministry. Each denomination must offer its idol on the altar of reunion.'

"He went on to make a bold surmisal. Should the federation of the Protestant churches be accomplished, the greater work would still remain to be done. If any one church is to be the center of unification, the honor must be conceded to the

Greek or the Roman communion. But will Rome ever make concessions to the truth of history? Dr. Schaff replied that he hoped she would.

"What if the pope, in the spirit of the first Gregory and under the inspiration of a higher authority, should infallibly declare his own fallibility in all matters lying outside of his own communion, and invite Greeks and Protestants to a fraternal pan-Christian council in Jerusalem, where the mother-church of Christendom held the first council of reconciliation and peace! But whether in Jerusalem or Rome, or (as Cardinal Wiseman thought) in Berlin, or (as some Americans think) on the banks of the Mississippi, the war between Rome and Constantinople, and between Rome, Wittenberg, Geneva and Oxford, will be fought out to a peaceful end, when all the churches shall be thoroughly Christianized and all the creeds of Christendom unified in the creed of Christ."

"After illustrating by historic examples the idea that the church must adjust her methods to the new social problems and her doctrinal statements to the established results of biblical and historical criticism and natural science, he brought forward five means for promoting Christian union. These are the cultivation of an irenic and evangelical catholic spirit, the personal intercourse of Christians of all denominations, co-operation in Christian and philanthropic work, the study of church history in an unpartisan spirit and prayer offered in the spirit of the Lord's sacerdotal prayer. The paper closed with a glowing tribute to the various communions of Christendom from the Greek and Latin churches down to the Salvation Army, the members of which are good Samaritans, an honor to the name of Christ and a benediction to a lost world. We welcome to the reunion of Christendom all denominations which have followed the divine Master and have done His work. Let us forget and forgive their sins and errors, and remember only their virtues and merits. There is room for all these churches and societies in the kingdom of God."

The large-heartedness, the open and tolerant mind and the

optimistic spirit of Dr. Schaff, pervades this paper. Naturally, therefore, he lays stress upon the case of Peter and Paul at the Council of Jerusalem, as a scriptural record for the movement of reconciliation, starting with the Pope. His Christo-centric Theology caused him to magnify personal attachment to Christ as the only tie to an abiding union in the family of Christian believers. His use of the prayer of our Lord as a text and constant reference to it, is justified because *he felt his safe ground for the assurance of the reunion of Christendom lies in His atoning sacrifice and His intercession.*

We believe Dr. Bright, the veteran editor of the chief organ of the American Baptist churches, *The Examiner*, at the time of the death of Dr. Schaff, declared the truth when he said,—“Philip Schaff did more than any other man of his time to promote Christian Unity.” Speaking as a member of the Catholic communion, Dr. Shahan, of the Catholic University at Washington, uses the following words, before the American Society of Church History:

“On different occasions Dr. Schaff, it is remembered with gratitude by Catholics, corrected misstatements of their doctrines and rebuked exaggerated and false notions concerning them. . . . He belongs in the same category with men like George Calixtus, Grotius and Leibnitz, whose efforts for the reunion of Christians the Catholic Church remembers with sympathy, while she regrets their untimely failure. . . . When the Catholic historian and theologian considers his natural and acquired abilities, his earnest zeal, his manliness, his astounding productivity, he is tempted to exclaim:

“‘Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.’”

How very appropriate that the “Reunion of Christendom” was the very last interest of a public nature that engaged the mind and heart of Dr. Schaff; for his closing hours were occupied in reading the communications which he had solicited on the subject as treated from divines at home and in Europe and in arranging the paper “*The Reunion of Christendom*” with comments thereon for the printer.

Surely all will agree that Dr. Schaff was a great pioneer of Christian unity and, likewise, his labors as represented in the organizations he helped to form, made him a prophet of the present time; for he believed that the first step in the direction of the Union of Churches is the confederation of the several branches of those denominations which profess the same creed.

We believe that the organic union, both of families of denominations and of national church bodies, as well as the reunion of Christendom, must come to pass first through Federation and then Organic Union of denominational families. The words now becoming familiar: "Not compromise but comprehension; not uniformity but unity" may well be the rallying cry. Inter-communion between all the disciples of Christ; co-operation in missions, social service, education, evangelism; fellowship in the faith which, through all the ages since Christ ascended, His spirit has been showing in the mind of His church; and a ministry in His name so validated and attested that without violence to the scruples of any it may prove acceptable to all,—these are among the objects to be sought for until they shall be attained in the fulfillment of the Lord's last prayer for the oneness of His disciples, that the world may believe on Him.

It may be well to note briefly, as contributing to the argument of "Manifestation of Unity," the progress which has been made in the organic union of churches.

The organic union between the Lutheran and German Reformed Churches, into which German Protestantism has been divided since the sixteenth century, was effected in 1817. The name of the UNITED EVANGELICAL CHURCH was substituted for the two separate denominational names but freedom was allowed to retain the Lutheran or Reformed creed or to use the Augsburg Confession or Heidelberg Catechism according to preference.

The question of union is not an absorptive but a conservative union of the two confessions, under the same government and administration.

The union of the old and new school of Presbyterians in 1869 and 1870 furnishes an example of organic union. So, likewise, the four divisions of Presbyterians in Canada have been united in one organization since 1875, while since 1874 the five independent bodies of Methodists in Canada have worked together as one organization and practically since 1908 the Baptists and the Free Baptists in this country have been united in strict conformity to their congregational polity.

A word as to present movements toward organic union,—since the actual union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland took place in 1900, the union of the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland is well under way, with good prospects of success. In Canada it is altogether likely the Presbyterian, Congregational and Methodist churches will soon be united in one body and in our own country progress is being made toward unification of families of churches on the part of the Presbyterian and Reformed, the Methodist family, the Congregationalist and Baptist, The United Brethren and Methodist Protestant, the Evangelical and United Evangelical, etc., and plans of union, more or less fully realized, have been put into operation in China, Japan, India, Korea and other foreign missionary countries.

In Australia since 1906 efforts have been making between the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia and Tasmania and by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Australia, to become one body; and in the State of Victoria there has been established the Melbourne College of Divinity, representing officially the Church of England, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Congregational and the Baptist churches. The resolutions setting forth the basis of union which have been under discussion and which have been considered in this country informally between representatives of various denominations are significant. They hold the Holy Scriptures in the Old and New Testament to be the rule and ultimate standard of faith in all matters necessary to salvation, accept the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, as expressing

the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith and as an adequate basis for any other formulated statement of Christian faith which may be needed; recognize the two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—baptism and the Supper of the Lord, administered with the use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.

Recognize that from the very early times there was one common succession of orders and that since that time the practice of ordination has been continued and the act of ordination has been performed (*a*) in the Anglican Church by a bishop and presbyter and (*b*) in the Presbyterian Church by a presbyter presided over by a moderator, etc.

That the Union purposes to recognize the ministers of both churches and that in the United Church the authority to execute their office shall be equal.

That some form of individual superintendence shall be conferred by a solemn act of consecration duly administered on a person or persons, with the title of bishop or its equivalent attached and all ordinations of persons as ministers of the word and sacraments, shall be by a bishop and three ministers, at least and that liturgical and non-liturgical forms of worship, the use of the Book of Common Prayer and additional forms of worship, be sanctioned by authority.

These are fundamentals, and leading ministers in the Congregational, Presbyterian and the Episcopal Church in the United States have, in informal conferences, agreed to them.

Movements that are helping to give expression to Christian Unity are—The Christian Unity Foundation, an incorporated body established by a group of ministers and members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Its purpose is to "Promote Christian Unity at home and throughout the world." To this end, to gather and disseminate accurate information relative to the faith and works of all Christian bodies; to set forth the great danger of our unhappy divisions and the waste of spiritual energy due thereto. To devise and suggest practical methods of coöperation and to substitute comity for rivalry and

the propagation of a common faith, as well as to bring together those who are laboring in the same field in the belief that full knowledge of one another will emphasize our actual membership in the one body of Christ and our common agreement in the essentials of faith.

The Christian Unity Foundation has held a number of private, informal conferences in various centers throughout the land and is distributing valuable literature. Copies of their literature can be secured by addressing Rev. Dr. Lowndes, secretary, 143 E. 37th Street, New York City.

The General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed in 1910 a Joint Commission to arrange for a world conference on faith and order. Practically all the leading denominations in the United States and recently the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, have appointed representatives to confer with this joint commission.

The plan of the Joint Commission is to gather Christians together in small groups, all over the world, as preparatory to the world conference; an advisory committee has been constituted, composed of one representative of each of the various commissions already appointed to coöperate with the executive committee of the Episcopal Commission in promoting any preparation preliminary to the work of convening the world conference. This commission states that while organic union is the ideal which all Christians should have in their thoughts and prayers, yet the business of the commission is not to force any particular scheme of unity but to promote the holding of a world conference, at which there shall be conferences, not only on points of difference and agreement between Christians but of the values of the various approximations of belief characteristic of the several churches.

Evidently the subject of fellowship and union is a burning question the world over. "The Kikuyu communion" administered by the Anglican Bishop of Mombasa, in Africa, at the close of an interdenominational Missionary conference has stirred the Christian churches not only in that faroff region but

also of Great Britain and the Protestant Episcopal churches of America. It is evident that the spirit of unity is opening the eyes of many to the original, historical position of the Church of England and to the recognition of the truth that the ordination of Christian ministers of all denominations must be recognized, notwithstanding the high churchly notions of some regarding the historic episcopate.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ is the most notable example of federation, at the top. It gives promise of large things. It is creating an *atmosphere* of faith and love through united Christian service, which manifests the spirit of Christian unity and, in the future may increasingly manifest the form of Christian Unity.

The Home Missions Council and the Foreign Missions Council are also splendid manifestations of the spirit of unity which is accomplishing definite results.

Federation at the bottom is illustrated in such organizations as the Chicago Coöperative Council of City Missions, representing the Missionary secretaries, etc., of the Home Mission and Church Extension Societies of the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational and Disciples Church. No congregation of any one of these bodies can be located or established without the advice of this council; and in many places in our land, federated or community congregations are developing, where the ministers and the members remain in official relation, if they desire, to their own denominations but unite in a local congregation to do the work in the community.

A brief statement ought to be made of the Council of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System. This is a body united together in "Articles of Agreement" which have been officially approved by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, The Presbyterian Church in the United States, the United Presbyterian Church the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of the South, the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Church in America and the Reformed Church in the United States.

The Council is an advisory body of limited powers and held its Fourth Biennial Convention, March 17-18, 1914, in Philadelphia. At this meeting there was a remarkable discussion of closer relations between this family group of denominations. It was maintained that there was organic unity between these bodies and that it can be manifested more fully either by federation or by consolidation. It was felt that the subject of church union and unity between these bodies required the most careful consideration in order to prevent hap-hazard efforts and to secure the best results, free from prejudice and injury to any one body. As the outcome of the discussion on this subject the following action was taken:

"WHEREAS, There has been a widespread awakening of the spirit of fellowship and coöperation between the Evangelical Churches of our country, in which the Churches of the Presbyterian family have taken a notable part; and

"WHEREAS, The Articles of Agreement adopted by the constituent Churches of this Council, specifically refer to their coöperative work, as one of the reasons for the existence of this Council; and

"WHEREAS, Article V of the said Articles of Agreement reads:

"'5. The Council shall promote the coöperation of the constituent Churches in their Foreign Missionary work, and also in their general work in the United States of America, in connection with Home Missions. Work among the Colored People, Church Erection, Sabbath Schools, Publication and Education. The Council may also advise and recommend in other matters pertaining to the welfare of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.'

"Therefore, Be it Resolved: (1) That the Council hereby overtures the Supreme Judicatories of the constituent Churches that they authorize and direct the Council:

"a. To give careful and full attention to the whole subject of 'Closer relations and more effective administrative coöperation,' between the several Presbyterian and Reformed

Churches represented in the Council, and with particular reference to the formation of an effective federation of their plans, work and executive or administrative agencies both in the Home and Foreign field.

"b. That the Council shall report its conclusions to the Supreme Judicatories at their meetings in May and June, 1916, and further be it *Resolved*:

"(2) That when as many as four of the Supreme Judicatories shall approve the above overture the Executive Committee of the Council shall appoint a committee of members of the Council, not exceeding eleven in number, which committee shall undertake the duties provided for in the overture, shall confer with the Boards and agencies interested in coöperative work, and shall report to the Council at its next meeting, either special or regular."

Federated unity possesses many advantages. It recognizes the two principles of progress—differentiation and coherence. It recognizes that the Kingdom of God does not mean exclusiveness on the one hand, or uniform consolidation on the other. It is genuine coöperation without regard to the ultimate result of the coöperative bodies. It is not an effort to get men to think alike or to think together. It is rather an army, composed of various regiments, with differing uniforms, with differing banners, but moving together, facing the same way and fighting the common foe. It is diversity in unity. But in the case of our own land and in the face of the 176 denominations, a growth from 143 in 1890, representing 18 family groups, in addition to 30 or 40 odd, separate or distinct bodies, it would seem that federal unity, to succeed, must hasten the operation of organic unity between the families of churches. Thirty-seven bodies contain more than 95 per cent. of all communicants or 33,580,000, leaving only 1,665,000 for all the remaining 133 bodies.

There are 16 branches of Methodists, 15 branches of Baptists, 23 Lutheran, 12 Presbyterian organizations and 4 Reformed, which are separate and independent and yet essentially

agree, 11 kinds of Mennonites, 4 kinds of Dunkards, 2 kinds of Disciples, 4 kinds of Plymouth Brethren, 6 kinds of Adventists, and not even one of any of the great denominations can be considered a nation-wide church because not one has congregations from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Maine to Texas, while practically all of these numerous denominations are provincial bodies, a large majority of whose members are located in certain sections and yet having the balance of its membership scattered over an immense area, isolated congregations sometimes being thousands of miles from the center of their denomination.

Here is found both weakness on the part of the individual denomination and inefficiency in the development of federal unity.

Facts and sound arguments must convince us that the "Reunion of Christendom" is the *goal* and the organic union of families of churches the immediate *object*.

There are two kinds of unity. One the unity inward; to be believed in,—the other, the manifested unity of the inward unity, to be sought for. The manifestation of unity is the duty of Christ's disciples. Christ's agonizing prayer was: "That they all may be one, even as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee; that they also may be in us, that the world may believe that thou didst send me. I in thee, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one."

The burden of our Lord's prayer was for the accomplishment of the will of God and for the fruit of His own sacrifice in the establishment of unity and in its manifestation among His disciples. It was both an inward and a manifested unity for which Christ prayed. There is a unity to be believed in as well as a unity to be exhibited to the world. We cannot make unity but we are to make it manifest. Extraordinary results are promised from this manifestation of unity.

There is unity, but the world cannot see it.

There is unity but the world does not believe it.

It is not necessary to contrast unity and union as though a choice had to be made between them. The spirit of God makes unity. Man makes union. Therefore, there may be union without unity. Nevertheless, unity can be shown to the world only through union. We do have an existing unity—the one, invisible church is the soul which unites the divided visible churches. All true believers are members of the mystical body of Christ:

“The saints in Heaven and on earth
But one communion make;
All join in Christ, their living Head,
And of His grace partake.”

and there is a certain outward union.

Christians differ in dogmas and in theology but agree in articles of faith which are necessary to salvation. They are divided in church government and discipline but all acknowledge and obey Christ as the Head of the Church. They differ widely in modes of worship, rites and ceremonies but they worship the same God, manifested in Christ. They believe that Christ ordained two Sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. They say the one Lord's Prayer and recite the one Apostolic Creed. They sing the same classical hymns, whether written by Catholic or Protestant, Greek, Lutheran, Reformed, Methodist, Episcopalian or Baptist, and more and more there is a unity of Christian scholarship of all creeds which aims at the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The same *Te Deum*, which in its nature is a confession of faith, is sung by them all.

And there is an ethical unity of Christendom, for all accept the ten commandments and theoretically profess the law of supreme love to God and love to our neighbor and look to the teaching and example of our Saviour as the best model for universal imitation. Finally Christians have not only the same hope of heaven but the hope of the same heaven.

But grant that the hand of Providence is in the present divisions of Christendom and that there is a great difference

between denominationalism and sectarianism. Grant that variety has been developed; certainly too much of it. Grant that the provincial mind has its rights and its advantages and that even Christianity, itself, was brought into the world a provincial faith, nevertheless, it is our duty to work for manifested unity and union. The tree must claim the branches because the branches claim the tree. The life of the tree and of the branches is so closely one life that the branches ultimately cannot remain a part of the tree unless it recognizes its life-giving relationship to the tree and the other branches. Union does not mean uniformity, but variety in manifested unity like the variety of states, counties, cities and of races and individuals; in the manifested unity of the life of the nation.

Professor Edward Scribner Ames, in his book, *The Psychology of Religious Experience* has an interesting chapter on the "Psychology of the Religious Sects," in which he says the different religious bodies are in effect so many social clans. "Their loyalties, antipathies and methods are based upon race and class inheritances and prejudices, merged with the fine idealism of the central Christian faith. Under the influence of modern life, these clans feel drawn or driven together for mutual defense, but they are suspicious and awkward in actual attempts at union. While theoretically admitting that the things in which they agree are more numerous and more vital than those in which they differ, yet they continue, under the influence of deep-seated instincts and habits to magnify incidental differences. They are under the control of the ancient biological, primitive clan impulse to preserve the identity and integrity of the organism. . . . The conflict, however, which is coming to consciousness in modern society is no longer between clan and clan or between the clan and complete social detachment, but rather a conflict between the lesser and the larger social whole. . . . The various denominations possess genuine social consciousness. That is their strength but that consciousness is too much restricted both in outlook and in methods. What is now demanded by the spirit of the age is that they

shall overcome their partial and limited historical functions and participate more fully and with scientific awareness and efficiency in the highest ideals for the whole race."

The union of families of churches at the present time is desirable and necessary if we admit the arguments as to the unity of the church and our duty to manifest this unity to the world, in order to fulfil the Saviour's prayer and work.

Nine points are suggested briefly without entering into any adequate discussion:

1. The difficulties and the urgency of the work at home and abroad demand the most powerful and effective use of our resources and this cannot be done without the union of families of churches. We have to evangelize a thousand millions of our fellow-creatures, under the most difficult circumstances, at best; using differing languages, and amid trying climatic conditions. Two thirds of the human race to be evangelized and placed under the reforming influence of the word of truth, and what is being done by the churches in this land for foreign missions is vastly inadequate because of the expense of administration, loose organization, waste of resources, both of men and of money, and thousands of ministers and churches struggling for a bare existence rather than giving service to the Lord. The evangelization of the home land and Christian education is complicated beyond measure because of our divisions. Proof of this is seen in the fact that the Protestant churches of the United States have not met the situation as well as the Protestant Churches of our neighbor, the Dominion of Canada, in the last twenty-five years, and largely because Canada has had fewer denominations. The urban population of our country in 1910 was 42 millions; in 1890, 22 millions, while the rural population in 1910 equalled 49 millions, as over against 40 millions in 1890, which indicates that 46.3 per cent. of the population of the land is in our cities to-day, while 53.7 is in rural districts, whereas in 1890 63.9 per cent. were in the rural districts and only 36.1 per cent. urban population. In the same period of time, towns or places having 2,500 in the rural districts increased from 6,466 in 1890 to 11,784 in 1910.

This massing of population in the cities raises numerous problems in the facing of which our divided Protestantism is marking time if not losing ground, and the rural problem is no less complicated. Wherever you go you will find either overlapping or over-looking. Recently the writer spoke at a United Home Missionary service in a town of seven hundred, less than 200 miles from Philadelphia, where there are five Protestant churches, the Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Reformed and United Presbyterian, and three of the five, if not all five, receive help from their church bodies to maintain ministers at a starvation salary, with the people being starved and the community interests being neglected. This is not an isolated case as we all know.

2. The attitude of our Jewish, Roman Catholic and atheistic elements, require the getting together of our churches in federation and of families in union. One out of every five people in New York City is a member of the Jewish race. Aggressive hostility is shown against even the atmosphere of religious influence on Christian character in our public schools, and this is making serious inroads in the teaching of Christian ethics to the children of the land.

We can rejoice in the splendid work of the Roman Catholic Church, which it is doing in this country, and yet we cannot close our eyes to the situation that the Roman Church is endeavoring in this land, as of old in other lands, to exercise an undue influence in the affairs of government, whether it be the nation, the state or the city. At the same time the writer is one of those who believe that our Roman Catholic friends will rejoice to see the day when there are fewer Protestant denominations and when a small group, representing for the present, necessary types and forms of variety of families of churches, are united in the Federal Council.

A Roman Catholic periodical recently summoned Roman Catholics and Protestants to cease criticising each other, to coöperate practically and put up a combined defense against the atheism, socialism and anarchism of the day—an effective

combination of all the Christian forces against anti-Christian forces working against us. The pressure and spirit of the times demands coöperation and combination.

3. The elementary needs of non-Christian people call for what is fundamental and essential in Christianity. *Impurity, inequality and hopeless indifference* are the great evils of the world. The remedy is in the character of God, the love of God and His life and not in any of the points in which we are at variance. The world needs to know the Fatherhood of God in order to actualize the brotherhood of man.

4. We are already agreed in the evangelical churches in this country on the intellectual basis that is necessary for the union of families of churches and unity abroad. We believe in one God and Father of us all and in one Lord Jesus Christ and in one Holy Spirit and in one Bible and in one faith and in one salvation. There is agreement in the spiritual principle underlying symbols and outward forms, and this is the fundamental and essential thing. The time ought not therefore to be far distant when, in any united church, including all the Methodist or including all the Presbyterian and Reformed, etc., there will be room made for some disagreement as to symbols and institutional forms. Perhaps the saying of the old Puritan expresses the truth, after all, when he said: "There are only two types of mind among men; the Roundhead and the Cavalier. The Roundhead is a man who bases all faith on experience. To him, outward authority means very little and he is the natural non-conformist. The Cavalier is a man who glories in outward form and ceremony. To him, authority is final and he suspects experience because the human spirit makes more errors than reaches truths." If our scheme of union takes into account these contrasted types of mind and makes room for them, union may not be so far distant as some image. The twentieth century has little use for metaphysical puzzles. You remember the Scotchman who got to arguing on some of the questions of theology. There was a taciturn neighbor sitting at their table, smoking his pipe. The disputants got so excited

they waked up a dog lying at their feet. He rushed out and began to bark vociferously, whereat the silent neighbor said: "Keep still, you brute. You do not know any more about it than they do."

The simplicities of the Gospel are the vital things. Ask a good man who is going to church and trying to love his neighbor and serve Jesus Christ, how to define the Atonement, the Inspiration of the Bible and to separate one theory from another. He would be floored immediately. These distinctions do not enter into his mind from one year's end to another unless we put them there. Our modern life demands the fundamentals of the Gospel and on these we are agreed.

5. The simplicity of the missionary and evangelistic aim invites unity and indicates how indispensable unity is. The aim of missionary activity abroad is the naturalization of Christianity in the national life of the different non-Christian peoples. It is not the extension there of any particular view of Christian truth or any particular form of Christian organization. There ought to be one church of Christ in China, Japan and Africa and in all the missionary lands and in our own land. If we recall our history what are we doing but perpetuating certain national types which took their form and shape in other lands, an Italian Christianity from Italy, Lutheranism and Reformed Church from Germany and Holland, Anglicanism from England, Presbyterianism from Scotland. Bishop Anderson has well said: "Our religion is a heterogeneous conglomeration of imported traditions." "Every kind of church can be found here. Here are all the elements of ecumenity. Here they are side by side, yet they know not one another. Is there nothing to look forward to except the permanent establishment of foreign types on American soil?"

Surely the simplicity of evangelism and social service indicates the way of deliverance.

6. Visible unity is an economic necessity. We realize that the economical argument might be easily over-worked. Never-

theless the economic argument has weight because divisions are proving to be as economically unsound as they are theologically unsafe. Hard facts are demonstrating that Christ's doctrine of unity is the sure, workable doctrine, in this practical, workaday world. The churches cannot do the work of the church. We know that in the missionary situation abroad. If St. Paul revolutionized the community with one church and with one creed ought it not be enough for us to take to Asia and Africa, the same religion he took to Europe? The fact is, that our Christian colleges abroad are representatives of all the denominations. The missionary propaganda at every point is minimizing or consolidating ecclesiastical differences. Are they wrong in doing this or are we wrong in maintaining diverse organizations whose differences our representatives have to conceal in the interests of a truer Christianity?

The economic argument applied to the question of ministerial support, the scarcity of ministers, the multiplication and maintenance of colleges and theological seminaries, of administrative boards, of thousands upon thousands of churches struggling for a bare existence, the inability to secure proper divisions of work, in accordance with the differing talents of men, the need of men to enter the ministry, gifted as great preachers, as great administrators, executives or leaders, is shown, but divided Protestantism makes impossible proper divisions of labor and assignment of such activities to which men are naturally fitted and inclined, and if many communities are over-churched, others are under-churched.

In some sections this is true because, unable to support five or ten churches, they will have none and it applies to country districts as well as large cities. We know that our Home Missions Council provides a sort of gentlemen's agreement by which it is sought to avoid overlapping. This is good but it is practically ineffective and does not offer a justifying reason why these denominations which are scarcely distinguishable from each other, should not adopt some plan of union. It is better to unite than to perpetuate a narrow Christianity.

7. Visible unity is a necessity from the standpoint of social efficiency. Can a sectarian Christianity mould the social conscience? Can it act continentally? Does it not emphasize individualism as over against organized Christianity? Of course, the vocation of the Church is to convert individual men to Christ but it is more than that. The social message of Jesus teaches us that we are to bring about the new earth in which the Gospel and the Church are to be the agents of God's kingdom. The Church is more than the aggregate of its churches or of its individuals. Life is an organism. The church is an organism. Regenerated individuals and a reformed society is the gospel for this world. The world is organized, labor is organized, society is organized, politics is organized, the nations of the world are organizing internationally. Everything is organized except the Christian religion, and Christ prayed that his people would be organized. A dis-united, disjointed, individualistic Christianity, where every church and every man is an independent unit, cannot stand up against the highly organized conditions of to-day. The democracy of the times demands a democracy of the Church. The call for a common policy or a united utterance, a united service must be the call of great bodies of Christians united in groups and these groups united together in a great federation.

A practical illustration of the evils of our denominationalism is seen in the fact that when men are required to do something in the name of God and humanity, for the city or nation, they feel compelled to make it a non-church and non-religious enterprise. The Gospel of Christ supplies the spiritual conviction and gives the vision but when the conviction takes concrete shape it somehow seems to have to divorce itself from the source of its inspiration and so the church sees settlements, leagues, associations, organizations doing the work of Christ and philanthropy and social service in great cities but forced to do so on a non-religious or undenominational, non-church, basis. Thus its ideals and spiritual power are lost and the influences that God will have joined together are being forced apart through divisions of His church.

Reforms without religion, may be a mere whitewash of the surface. Society needs regeneration, not simply reformation; good men and women united together as well as good laws.

8. The increasing unity of family groups of churches is necessary to give organic expression to the religious life of the nation. The Catholic church is world-wide but just because it is Catholic it is also national in tone and temper. Ours is a Christian nation, yet who would define what American Christianity is? We have twenty millions or more of Protestant communicants, but has the United States a Christianity that is distinctly her own? Our country gathers her people from the four quarters of the globe and in the melting pot of our public school system and political methods, she makes good Americans of them. Order is brought out of chaos and is it impossible for the great families of Protestantism in this land to unite and bring into being *national* churches and finally *one national church*?

9. We must come back in argument on this subject to the emphasis of the unity for which our Lord prayed. He did not pray that they all may be one as John or James are one or as brethren are one, but that they all may be one as "thou and I are one." The kind of unity for which he prayed was not a unity of fraternity; not a unity of federal relationship of people externally bound to one another. The ideal that he held out was not the ideal of the unity of human brotherhood but the ideal of the unity of a Godhead itself.

The church united will be the church glorified. "The glory which thou gavest me I have given them that they may be one even as we are one." Is not the Church's glory dim to-day and cannot it all be traced back to the divisions among us as the cause? The great apostle classed divisions with drunkenness and fornication. Whether we feel the shame of our divisions or not, our enemies exult in them. If the word of our Lord is true, that unity of the Church would make the world believe on Him, then we cannot believe that the divisions of the Church into rival denominations have stimulated Christian effort.

What our Lord prayed against cannot be permanently profitable to the Church. Dr. Schaff has well said:

"The apostles who thus far have most influenced the course of Church History are Peter and Paul. The apostle whose spirit will preside over the final consummation, is John, the bosom friend of Jesus, the Apostle of Love."

This agrees with the statement of Meyer, the great commentator, who, by a lifelong study of the word of God, gradually arose from a rationalistic to an almost orthodox standpoint when he said, as quoted by Dr. Schaff, in the Schaff-Lange Commentary on John:

"The wonderful gospel of John, in its fulness of grace, truth, peace, light and life, is destined to contribute to a closer union of Christians."

Can we not believe that the twentieth century is emphasizing anew the greatest truth of all, that God is love and that we must love one another as he has loved us? Dr. Philip Schaff spoke a prophetic and true word when he said: "Before the reunion of Christendom can be accomplished we must expect providential events, new Pentecosts, new reformations—as great as any that have gone before. The twentieth century has marvelous surprises in store for the church and the world which may surpass even those of the nineteenth. History now moves with telegraphic speed and may accomplish the work of years in a single day." Families of churches even now are coming together and all the leading Protestant denominations are in federation on the principle—"In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity."

Finally, let us not forget there is perhaps no other one object in the world for which as large a volume of prayer is arising to-day all over the nation, as for this one thing—the unity of Christendom in its representation of Christ to the non-Christian world. Let us take to heart the noble appeal to prayer, thoroughly representative of scores, published twelve years ago in Japan by two of the Bishops of the Anglican Church. It is well to close with it because of its illustration of

unity and because of its appeal to us to-day. Bishop Foss and Bishop Awdry called us to

“‘Penitence’ for any wilfulness, prejudice, worldiness or evil temper in ourselves or our predecessors which may have helped to bring about a condition of Christendom so different from that for which our Lord prayed.

“Prayer for such change and enlightenment of our own hearts as may help toward the undoing of this great evil—for the graces of wisdom, humility, sincerity, unworldiness, self-control and open mind, reverence for others who sincerely disagree with us, complete subordination of our self-will to the will of God, a firm hold on truth, a spiritual mind—in short the mind which was in Christ Jesus.

“Prayer for the removal of obstacles—in, the character of professing Christians, in heredity and other prejudice, in narrowness of views, in special shibboleths, in unworthy rivalries, in exaggerated attachment to non-essentials.

“Prayer for a fuller outpouring of the Holy Spirit in His various powers, and for a more ready recognition of the work of the Spirit in others in whom the ‘Fruits of the Spirit’ are apparent.

“Thanksgiving for the growing sense of sin in regard to our division, and of longing for unity; and for the better hope which this gives of the world being won to believe in the mission of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

In view of all these historical statements and the overpowering facts relating to the Christian Church and the world movements of the day, may we express the hope that the Reformed Church—irenic and mediatorial in its origin and history since the sixteenth century, and the bodies having the Reformed faith and the Presbyterian system, known in the United States as churches of the open mind, and liberal hand to all good causes, and a ministry and membership representing in training, intelligence and activity, the best products of our American life with a form of church government in har-

mony with the political institutions of nation and state;—a church which has given Philip Schaff, the pioneer and prophet of Christian Unity, may this church lead in movements towards the coöperation, consolidation and comprehensiveness of the Church of Christ.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE MEANING OF EVOLUTION. By Samuel Christian Schmucker, Ph.D.
66 Fifth Ave., New York, The Macmillan Company. 1913. Pp. 298.
Price \$1.50 net.

There are many text-books on evolution written in the vernacular of pure science which are unintelligible to the average layman. Here is a volume that interprets evolution in simple terms. Even those can understand it who have never gazed through a microscope. Its style is lucid and the cryptic terminology of the biological laboratory is reduced to a minimum. Ordinary intelligence will enable any reader to follow the author's argument and to appreciate the strength of his conclusions.

The scientist will value the book for its concise treatment of the historical data of evolution, for its accurate statement of various theories of evolution, and for its many original observations illustrating the general process of ascending life. The theologian will appreciate the fact that modern biology, as here interpreted, lends no support to materialism. The intelligent layman will see that science and theology are not at war. A man may be a staunch believer in the Christian religion and at the same time accept the fact of evolution. And one may be a convinced evolutionist without losing faith in God.

To Dr. Schmucker evolution is the name which science gives to the method of creation. He makes it clear that the fact of evolution is no longer in dispute among competent scientists, but he makes it equally clear that the manner of evolution is still an open question. Darwin's theory of Natural Selection has been modified by later scientists. When a modern biologist speaks of the death of Darwinism he by no means declares the bankruptcy of evolution, he simply means that natural selection is not sufficient to explain the process of evolution. Pending the outcome of the scientific controversy concerning the method of evolution the author amply confirms the convictions of many men that the ultimate conclusion will not subvert the Christian faith.

The book forms a valuable contribution to apologetics. Though a professor of science by vocation the author also knows philosophy and theology. And, what is more to the point, he thoroughly understands the essence of the Christian religion. He blends these various interests into a consistent and inspiring view of the relation of matter and spirit. He finds God at work in His world,

evolution notwithstanding. His book may be strongly recommended to those who still fear that evolution renders God superfluous to men and reduces the universe to a mechanism without rational foundation and purposive direction.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

THE COUNTRY CHURCH. By Chas. O. Gill and Gifford Pinchot. 66 Fifth Ave., New York, The Macmillan Company. Pp. xii + 222. Price \$1.25 net.

This book owes its inception to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is published under its authority and it presents a striking example of the literary work that may be expected of this important organization. The chief aim of the Federal Council is to make the American Church effective through coöperation. In this volume two members of its Commission on the Church and Country Life present a large array of facts which prove the decline of the Country Church. The authors selected two representative counties in our eastern states, one in Vermont and the other in New York, for a careful study of the actual conditions of the religious life in rural communities. Thus they ascertained the comparative statistics concerning the religious life of a population of fifty thousand persons during a period of twenty years. With little explanation they let these facts speak for themselves in a series of tables and diagrams. And the summary of results shows that in these Counties the Country Church has suffered a decline which proves beyond question that it is losing its hold on the community.

The authors base no hasty generalizations on the specific results of their original study of the religious life in two counties. But there is ample reason to conclude that the conditions prevailing in these two representative counties are typical of large areas of our rural life both East and West. Their findings therefore make sober and serious reading for those who appreciate the vital relation of our rural population to the purity and integrity of our national life. If religion declines in the Country Church our Christian civilization is bound to decay.

This book however does not end with despair. In addition to its searching diagnosis of a perilous malady it also contains a section on remedies. It offers no quack cure, but it suggests and recommends a number of sane, practical measures and methods of relief. It will perform a great mission if it inspires the Church of Christ in America to devote no less zeal to its city problems but more of its best thought and strength to the crying needs of the Country Church.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

THE MAKING OF TO-MORROW. By Shailer Mathews. New York, Eaton & Mains. Pp. 193. Price \$1.00 net.

One of our great modern tasks is the interpretation of democracy in terms of religion. We are coming to see that our American democracy is still a very unfinished product of human civilization. But, though raw and crude in many phases, it is also rich in promise. And it is in the making. There are many forces at work that will fulfill its promises.

Would there were more editorial writers in our land who have eyes to see that clearly and language to say it trenchantly and pithily, as does Professor Mathews in this little volume. It is a collection of chapters which appeared originally as editorials in the *World To-Day*. They deal with various phases of the industrial, political, and social life. But one common purpose binds all the fragments into a consistent whole. The author sees and exhibits God's working in the social evolution. He reads the signs of the times with a clear eye and he interprets them with an optimistic faith as pointing towards an extension and glorification of democracy. His book has the tonic quality and it is heartily recommended to all who are helpers in the Making of To-Morrow.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

THE PROPHETS OF ISRAEL. By Moses Bottenwieser, Ph.D.. 66 Fifth Ave., New York, The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xxii + 347. Price \$2.00.

This book is from the pen of the Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. It deals with the faith and the message of the prophets of Israel from the eighth to the fifth century. The author fully accepts the historico-critical method of modern research. He maintains however that hitherto research in the field of literary prophecy has concentrated its attention on the historical side of the problem and neglected to a large extent the more vital side of the movement, the spiritual side. His primary aim therefore is an exposition of the personal faith of the prophets. In carrying out this purpose the author departs from the chronological order of presentation. He starts his study of the personal religion of the prophets at the point of its highest development, in the fervid record which Jeremiah has left of his inner life; and then he takes up mainly Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Deutero-Isaiah in a descending order of excellence.

The general reader will find the first and last chapters most readable. They set forth the faith and the messages of the great literary prophets of Israel. They are a summary of the results of the scholarly labor of the author in a striking and popular form. The key note of the personal religion of the prophets was, "Not

by virtue of material strength and political power shall ye prevail, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." And that profound religious experience received various intellectual expressions in the messages of the successive prophets. These chapters form a contribution to the literature on prophetism. They prove that both in spirit and teaching the great prophets of Israel were the lineal and spiritual ancestors of Jesus Christ. They tower far above all the contemporary non-Israelitish teachers of religion and morality, and they take us easily to the very threshold of the New Testament.

The intervening chapters are primarily intended for the specialist. They contain the scientific processes which underlie the practical conclusions of the author. Here the reader will find views that are at variance with those held by other Old Testament scholars. They are presented clearly and commandingly, and yet with the modesty and reserve characteristic of all true scholarship, "Not without the hope that the studies incorporated therein may on some points open up new lines of thought and throw a new light on certain vital questions connected with Israelitish prophecy." The readers of this volume will look forward with pleasant anticipations to a second volume, giving a more detailed exposition of the religious views of the prophets, which the author has promised.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

THE FAITH OF JAPAN. By Tasuku Harada, LL.D. 66 Fifth Ave., New York, The Macmillan Company. Pp. ix + 190. Price \$1.25.

At one bound almost Japan has leaped to a permanent place among the leading nations of the world. Opportunity played a part in this sudden ascent of an Asiatic people, but it does not fully account for it. The reason for it must be sought in the forces that shaped the soul of Japan during the long ages of her hermit life. One of these moulding forces was religion.

The volume under review contains an authoritative account of the faith of Japan. The author is a Christian scholar and holds the position of President of Doshisha University at Kyoto. His book consists of a course of lectures delivered at Hartford Theological Seminary in the fall of 1910 on the Lamson foundation. They amply deserve the wider publicity assured for them in book form.

By the Faith of Japan the author does not mean Shintoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, or Christianity, all of which form elements of the religious life of the nation, but "that union of elements from each and all that have taken root in Japanese soil and moulded the thought and life of her people." The book falls into eight chapters which contain, respectively, An Historical Sketch, The Conception of Deity, The Way of Humanity, The Law of

Enlightenment, The Doctrine of Salvation, The Spirit of Loyalty, The Idea of Future Life, and the Faith: Old and New. They are admirably written and carefully indexed. The reviewer knows no book that, in brief compass, gives one a better conception of the elemental beliefs that have been the constructive principles in the life of a great people.

The book forms an illuminating contribution to the young science of Comparative Religion. As a native Japanese, thoroughly conversant with the faith of his people, Dr. Harada has given us a trustworthy report of it. And as an intelligent Christian he can make sympathetic and yet discriminating comparisons between the old and the new faiths that are struggling in Japan. In this little volume the historical student of religion finds three great systems of religion existing side by side through many centuries. He observes the emergence of a working faith that is an amalgam of the indigenous religion of Shinto, with Confucian ethics and with Buddhist doctrine. He sees that ancient faith tested and tried by the influx of western religion, science, literature, art, and industry. There has been no opportunity to witness a similar spectacle since the decline of the Roman empire. And the outcome of this modern conflict of religions in Japan is no less momentous for Asia than was that of the early centuries of our Christian era for Europe.

The book is also profoundly interesting from the missionary standpoint. One cannot wish for a saner and clearer presentation of the missionary problem in Japan than is here given. The opposition that Christianity encounters in Japan is traced to its causes. They constitute barriers that are very formidable. The author calls the internal forces arrayed against Christianity "gigantic." Yet he believes that Christianity is steadily gaining in strength and efficiency. But the western Church must realize that the Christianization of Japan is no holiday task but a stupendous enterprise.

This book is sure of a welcome. It will be eagerly read by many students of comparative religion and it may be profitably studied in missionary classes.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

CAN WE STILL BE CHRISTIANS? By Rudolf Eucken. 66 Fifth Ave., New York, The Macmillan Company. Pp. vi + 218. Price \$1.25.

This is a translation of the latest book of the celebrated Jena professor, who now commands a world-wide hearing. It is no less difficult to understand than the other writings of Professor Eucken in spite of the lucid English of the translation. But it amply repays the labor of concentrated study. The student who grasps the thought of this volume will understand the universal vogue of the master and the enthusiastic devotion of his numerous dis-

ciples. And the Christian student will realize that, while the Church has no more candid critic than Professor Eucken, he is at the same time a most sympathetic friend and interpreter of Christianity.

The title of this recent publication sounds almost sensational, but sensationalism forms no part of its rich contents. In the body of the book we have three main divisions devoted, respectively, to The Justification of the Question, The Foundation of the Answer, and The Development of the Answer. Here the argument is carried step by step to its conclusion. It is closely reasoned and carefully supported by many observations from past history and from modern life.

What then is his conclusion? Can we still be Christians? Professor Eucken answers this somewhat startling question emphatically in the affirmative. He says: "Our answer is that we not only can, but must be Christians." However there follows an equally emphatic proviso. The one indispensable condition is "that Christianity be recognized as a progressive historical movement still in the making, that it be shaken free from the numbing influence of ecclesiasticism and placed upon a broader foundation." This answer in both of its parts will find an intelligent reception in wide sections of the Church. Modern Protestantism thoroughly agrees with the author that the future welfare of mankind depends upon the fate of the Christian religion. More than ever to-day we must be Christians, if our life is to have meaning and value. And we must be able to convince our age, steeped in materialism and distracted by skepticism, that Christianity alone can enrich life at its very center and thus restore joy and strength and hope to it. But in order to accomplish this mission in modern life Christianity must be placed on a broader foundation. Its essence must be distinguished from its many accretions. The central fact of Christianity according to Professor Eucken is not the reconciliation of a lost world to God, but the realization of a new type of humanity whose head is Jesus Christ.

The well known philosophical position of the author may not commend itself to all readers and much of his detailed criticism of the Church and of the doctrine of the Church may challenge debate and dissent. But the trend of the book as a whole is altogether admirable. Linked with a sympathetic insight into the historical essence of our Christian religion, we find also a keen appreciation of the momentous issues confronting the Church in the modern world and a constructive program of re-adjustment that deserves the careful attention of all who are laboring to make Christianity the vital and commanding force of the Twentieth Century.

THEO. F. HERMAN.

TELEPATHY OF THE CELESTIAL WORLD. By Horace C. Stanton, D.D., LL.D.
New York and Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Company. Pp. xxx + 471.
Price \$2.00 net.

This book makes large claims in the discussion of a subject which from different directions and various points of view, often presents itself to thoughtful minds. It can hardly be said that the large claims are met and satisfied by a scientific explanation of the phenomena brought under discussion by the author. But the book is interesting for at least two reasons: It suggests lines of thought as to the modes of communication between mind and mind, "whether in the body or out of the body," which may lead to fruitful results in proportion as the scattered phenomena of thought transference come to be better understood and scientifically organized; and it brings together a great many facts, or reported facts, from the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research and other sources more or less authenticated, including thought transference, visions, presentiments, apparitions, etc., which furnish material for analysis and ingenious speculation to the psychologist as well as to the general reader.

The author assumes that telepathy, "the impressing of one mind by another mind, or the obtaining of impressions by one mind from another mind, otherwise than through the recognized media of sense," is a scientifically established fact. Although in this life, the power of making or receiving impressions in this way is but imperfectly developed, it is a real power, always present, but capable at times of stronger manifestation according to the changing condition of the agents; and the activity is such as to warrant the belief that in the future life it will be the recognized form of communication between spirit and spirit, directly and instantaneously throughout the illimitable universe. As the phenomena of physical communication depend upon the subtle presence of an all-pervading ether, so the phenomena of spiritual intercourse, of mind with mind, depend upon the activity of the omnipresent mind of God.

These are large assumptions. In the first place it is not at all certain that in ordinary cases of telepathy the communication, whatever it may be, proceeds immediately from mind to mind. As in the case of so-called subjective sensations the brain centres corresponding to ordinary sensations are supposed to be stimulated, so here the brain centres may also be involved. Only the stimulation is supposed to be from within instead of from without. Telepathy, in fact, is only a word by which we hide our ignorance of the *modus operandi*; as when we say a man is born blind because he comes into the world without the power of sight. In the second place, we know nothing at all of *pure spirit*, what it is or how it works. We speak of it in negative terms; it is not matter, it does not operate according to the laws of physical interaction,

the phenomena of mind in the two orders of existence, therefore, are not necessarily analogous or capable of explaining each other.

The author's application of his principle to communications between the divine mind and human minds leads to certain conceptions which, if orthodox, are too mechanical to harmonize with present-day thought. For instance, he asserts that the three persons of the trinity communicate with one another by telepathy, as if they were three personalities standing apart without a common consciousness. So in his theory of inspiration, while he assumes that the biblical writers obtained their facts in the ordinary way, they were telepathically directed what to record and what to omit—a view of inspiration which few thinkers will be disposed to accept.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE BALKANS, A LABORATORY OF HISTORY. By William M. Sloane, Seth Low Professor of History, Columbia University. New York, The Methodist Book Concern. Pp. viii + 322. Price \$1.50 net.

Professor Sloane has written a book on the Balkans which is not only timely and interesting, but also of great permanent value. He was exceptionally well qualified for the task by years of patient study, by residence abroad where he had access to the best authorities, and by his personal presence in Europe during the recent upheaval which enabled him to make a first-hand study of the whole situation. He is a close observer, a clear and vigorous thinker, and a graceful and fluent writer. The book may be safely recommended, therefore, to all who desire a clear insight into the complicated problems connected with the Near Eastern Question.

There is first an illuminating historical sketch of the relation of Turkey to European politics. This is followed by a description of Turkish rule under Abdul Hamid. The author then proceeds to give a full and clear account of the Balkan peoples and the Balkan nations, their social, economic, and religious aspects, their relation to each other and to the six Great Powers of Europe, and the currents and counter-currents of political machinations, schemes, and aspirations which have agitated and disturbed the nations of Europe during the last fifty years. This makes room for a discussion of the Revolution of 1908, the formation of the Balkan Alliance, and the Latest War, its causes, the outcome, and the bearing which it will have upon the future development of the Balkan states, the Slavic propaganda, and the relation between Mohammedanism and Christianity in eastern Europe and western Asia.

We consider it one of the most valuable contributions made in recent times to contemporaneous history.

JOHN S. STAHR.

THE NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FREER COLLECTION. Part I. The Washington Manuscript of the Four Gospels by Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912.

This is a book for the textual critic of the New Testament, and for him only; but for him it is of very great value. In fact, in the present state of knowledge, one who would do thorough work in the textual study of the Gospels can not well do without it. Belonging to the Freer Collection, the Washington Manuscript of the Gospels has been known to scholars only since 1906. It was formerly in the library of the Monastery of Scheurite at Atripe (near Sohag), opposite Akhmine in Egypt. It is a complete codex of the Gospels, written in capitals, and remarkable for giving the Gospels in the Western order, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. It is the opinion of those who are competent to pronounce judgment that the manuscript can not be later than the sixth century, and that it is probably as old as the fourth century. This last is the view held by Prof. Sanders; and if correct, the manuscript will rank among the oldest of our New Testament Uncials. Prof. Sanders has put the textual student of the New Testament under lasting obligation by his careful study of this new treasure, and by the great amount of material which he has here put at our disposal.

WILLIAM C. SCHAEFFER.

THE MEN OF THE GOSPELS. By Lynn Harold Hough. New York, Eaton and Mains. Pp. 98. Price 50c. net.

This is a book of character sketches of men whose names and works are recorded in the gospels. The author sketches in an interesting manner the characters of John, Peter, Thomas, Judas, Nicodemus, Caiaphas, Pilate, Herod Antipas, the Centurion, and the Rich Young Ruler. The purpose of the author is to present the chief characteristic of the New Testament men under consideration, rather than to describe their life and work in detail. The real worth of the book lies in its strong emphasis on the moral values of the characters described. The style is terse, the contents suggestive and quickening.

H. M. J. KLEIN.

THE LIFE EFFICIENT. By George A. Miller. New York, Eaton and Mains. Pp. 248. Price \$1.00 net.

This is a series of essays emphasizing the moral and spiritual values of life. They make no claim to exegetical or theological value, but they do deal with the great average life of people. They attempt to interpret daily life in terms of spiritual value. Among the topics discussed are, "The Life that is Strong," "The Fountains of Faith," "The Gospel of the Commonplace." The pages of this book are full of homely, common sense. The

author has a vigorous style. He says thing with a directness which makes them penetrate to the heart. The following quotation from a chapter on "Three Fools" is to the point. In speaking of the man with defective judgment he says: "The man who thinks that he can get something for nothing is usually incurable. Preachers once inoculated with the speculation mania forfeit their high calling for a mess of shares in some company. High officials of the Church of Jesus Christ allow their names to be used on the letter heads of promotion corporations for the purpose of selling stock to the humble investor. Pastors have lost their usefulness and sometimes their characters for some petty promotion project."

H. M. J. KLEIN.

INDIA, MALAYSIA AND THE PHILIPPINES. A Practical Study in Missions. By W. F. Oldham. New York, Eaton and Mains. Pp. 292. Price \$1.00 net.

Most of the lectures in this book were delivered on the Nathan Graves Foundation of Syracuse University. They were prepared for undergraduate hearers. The author, Secretary Oldham, has had a life-long experience with foreign missions and missionaries. He has a first hand acquaintance with the facts he handles. He presents in this book a vivid picture of the conditions that surround the great missionary enterprise of the Christian Church. The first chapter is a presentation of the pros and cons of the missionary question. Then follows a discussion of the missionary and his message. It is a stirring appeal to young people showing the great sphere of usefulness open to earnest men and women in the foreign mission field. Separate chapters are devoted to India, Malaysia and the Philippines. He says that the greatest need in the Philippines is a union Christian College. The wide experience of the author in the fields he describes makes this book intensely interesting and stimulating.

H. M. J. KLEIN.